Crisis and Resistance in the Two Spains: an ethnographic study of the narratives, impact and limitations of protest in Madrid since 2011.

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Crisis and Resistance in the Two Spains: An ethnographic study of the narratives, impact and limitations of protest and resistance in Madrid since 2011.

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This thesis is concerned with the lasting impact of austerity policies on expressions and experiences of dissent. It draws on eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Madrid between 2016 and 2018, creating a new anthropological gauge for political resistance in the wake of crisis. The city of Madrid became, in 2011, a centre-stage for new waves of social movements, in which a wide cross-section of participants mobilised in protests against austerity measures in the midst of the Eurozone crisis. This thesis, removed temporally from the immediacy of these protests, evaluates their form and lasting impact in retrospect. It draws upon a wide sample of narratives and case studies to establish why and how resistance to pervasive economic practices has receded despite the enduring actuality of crisis experiences.

While the public engagement of 2011 has shown some resonance on the Spanish electoral scene, readings of resistance as solidary and spontaneous have failed to translate into lasting resistant engagement for many local actors. This thesis broadens anthropological readings of resistance to include not only its active moments and members, but also the latency and sub-strata that make up much of its local reality. Through ethnographic analysis of activists, producers of activist content, and partially resistant audiences, this thesis posits that resistance to austerity in Madrid cannot be explained solely by neoliberal binaries. Rather, it draws upon aesthetic and narrative sub-texts, which local actors recognise and re-use to shape their own actions as resistant. I argue that local sub-texts of dissent are articulated along pre-existing socio-historic fractures in Spain, setting resistance in retrospective and disenchanted gazes which hinder its creative potential in the face of neoliberal oppression.

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Statement of copyright

List of Abbreviations

ASA: Association of Social Anthropologists

CEB: Central European Bank

CIF: Contra La Impunidad del Franquismo [*Against the Impunity of Francoism]*

DRY: Democracía Real Ya *[Real Democracy Now*]

EC: European Commission

ICT: Information and Communication Technologies

IMF: International Monetary Fund

PAH: Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca [*Platform for the victims of mortgages]*

PCE: Partido Comunista Español, *[Spanish Communist Party]*

PP: Partido Popular

PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1. Introduction

This thesis is an ethnographic study of urban actors in the Spanish city of Madrid, concerned with how they collectively and individually negotiate meanings of 'crisis' and 'resistance' in contexts of financial hardship and austerity. Research for this thesis was carried out in the centre and immediate periphery of Madrid between January 2016 and December 2018, forming part of renewed scholarly focus on southern European nations in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. The deep and lasting impact of the ensuing recession called into focus the conditions under which 'peripheral' European actors navigate accountability and livelihood under new economic pressure. The position of southern European nations as 'peripheral' was shaped by the unfolding of the Eurozone crisis; the term is left in quotation marks as its meaning, beyond geography, is informed by ongoing negotiations of 'peripheral' actors with deciding centres. Scholarly engagement with the Eurozone

crisis and its aftermath has given rise to ethnographic renewal with the micro- and macro-structures of southern European societies. As fitting with its exceptional position in the negotiations of sovereignty and subordination, Greece has arguably taken the lead in this renewed Europeanist field. Economic and social anthropologists have produced a wealth of literature on the questions of subordination and uncertainty that stem from the Hellenic experience of austerity in the past eleven years.

Spanish experiences of the financial crisis may lack the some of the exposure of their Greek counterpart (both in foreign press and in academic publications), but have nonetheless driven new ethnographic interest into the field of urban protest and resistance. The original impetus behind this research project was the unprecedented, seemingly spontaneous irruption of the *Indignados*, the 'indignant' or 'outraged', onto the urban stage. Stemming from Madrid's central Puerta del Sol, the movement's model quickly spread to other Spanish cities, to Syntagma Square, and ultimately shaping the Occupy movement in the United States (Graeber, 2011). The movement's original point in Madrid has become known as 15M, a contraction of the date of its inception (15 de Mayo 2011). The code has become shorthand for the plural faces and effects of the month-long occupation, as it shaped new readings of protest, democracy, urban space and resistance in the face of perceived unjust economic practice.

While it has itself become the object of focal ethnographic studies, the *Indignado* movement and its singular relation to public space should also serve as a window into wider questions of resistant identity in contemporary European cities. Throughout the following chapters, I suggest that the existing focus on 'Neo-Liberal' (a term in itself resistant to classification) blinkers ethnographic understanding of the complex webs of meaning, experience and collectivity that shape local understandings of subordination and resistance. Perhaps, by focusing so sharply on the economic experience of crisis, we have immobilised resistance to power and austerity in a presentist approach which overlooks the local subtexts behind

'protest'. Lives and livelihoods do not exist distinctly, nor are either of them distinct from the collective memories and rumours that make up the impressionist tableau of local resistance. In this thesis, I propose that collective imaginaries, shaped by timelines of trauma, contribute to an aesthetic experience of resistance in Spain. The category of resistance is no longer simply reactive to top-down economic dynamics, but is constituted through associative-dissociative mechanisms that local actors engage with daily. By considering these complex mechanisms in a messy ethnographic context like Madrid, we as anthropologists can extend our reading past the mechanics of protest in the city, to consider how local resistance is shaped and limited by retrospective gazes. Themes of retrospection, historicity and memory are woven throughout the arguments in the chapters. They are concerned with Spain's complex twentieth century history, which has been the stage of coups, violent civil war and incomplete processes of amnesty (see chapter 1: 2 and appendix B). I develop the historic context of the field in the following section of this introduction, and suggest that matters of historic accountability and social justice are central to shaping contemporary meanings of resistance in Spain.

Socio-historic tropes are, I argue, prevalent in the experiences and evaluations of urban actors as they go about resisting or evaluating the concept of resistance. While 15M marks a singular moment in popular engagement with matters of governance, representation and protest, its lasting impact cannot be understood without addressing the complex strta of subordination and injustice that make up actors' analytic experiential frameworks. With this in mind, the thesis sets out to unpack new directions and questions in the study of contemporary resistance in Southern Europe. Rather than isolating its questions in terms of neoliberal crisis and governance, it engages with the repository of visual, peripheral and narrative cues with which local actors understand resistance in their every day lives. These local actors engage with incomplete amnesty in the twentieth century, perpetuating retrospective gazes of repression and forced compliance which ultimately limit the creative scope of contemporary resistance.

2. Critical approaches to the existing anthropology of Spain.

Introduction

The driving theory of this thesis is that political discontent in Madrid is articulated along underlying fissures, which are socio-historic in nature, and provide actors with pre-existing structures of emotive and aesthetic content with which they enact dissent. Yet these crucial questions of socio-history and local mnemonics remain conspicuously absent from many ethnographies of political protest in Spain, which remain tied to neoliberal axioms. In this section, I consider how the severing of Spanish actors from their formative socio-historic context reflects a long-standing lacuna in anthropology's treatment of its Mediterranean subject, drawing in key questions of knowledge production- namely, analyzing disciplinary tensions between Southern European 'exoticisation' and anthropological practice 'at home' (Jackson, 1987) in European metropoles.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the question of urban anthropology carried out in Western cities (Hannerz, 2004) carries a set of assumptions as to ethnographers' relationships to their informants. In the case of this research, many of the contestants can and do self-represent, in public performance and often in written publications; as such, the politics (or 'cosmopolitics', as Lins Ribeiro has defined, and as I review further in this section) of representation in an ethnography of Madrid operate within newer epistemological parameters (following Low's, in Nonini 2014, 'flows and spaces of cities'). It is relative to actors' and ethnographers' position within, and lived knowledge of these flows, that I consider the anthropology of urban protest to be in a sense carried out 'at home'. In her contribution to Jackson's volume, Strathern (1987) posits 'at home' anthropology as being 'done in the social context that produced it'. The idea of the social context is paradoxically both stringent and open-ended; at its most exacting, the requirement made of 'social context' continuity suggests that only in contexts of continuity between the ideas of informants and the ethnographer's method and findings can anthropology truly

be qualified as ‘at home’. Even in this stringent reading of the ‘social context’, ‘anthropology at home’ can still be lifted from requirements that it should be carried out in the cities, countries or institutions that ‘produce it’, spatially speaking. Considering resistant actors at different levels of engagement in Madrid between 2011 and 2017, ‘at home’ anthropology can be considered a valid framework in that Strathern’s ‘social contexts’ bear tangible similarities for the researcher and the informant. These are tied to the parallels in life-experience that both are likely to recognise in one another, pertaining to livelihood, consumption patterns, socio-economic position, or the ability to self-represent on written platforms. Online spheres, key to the communications and disseminations of resistant content throughout this analysis, contribute also to the homogenising of ‘social contexts’ between researcher and informant. These questions, of whether and when anthropology might be considered ‘at home’, are relevant to this study as I locate it within Spanish Anthropology and the Anthropology of Spain (see next sub-section). In global societies where Low’s (2014) ‘spaces and flows’ are key tenets of the urban field, evaluations of our positions as researchers should be done systematically on a case-by-case basis, since they may impact both the knowledge we produce and the ‘cosmopolitics’ which it perpetuates. With regard to these epistemological considerations, I now turn to a brief review of the position of Spain as an anthropological field, highlighting essentialising tropes which continue to come under fire as Southern Europe negotiates the politics of its voice and representation.

Beyond ‘pragmatic and superficial involvement’: considering the representation of Madileño resistants.

A point of contention that has spanned this thesis, from inception to final data analysis, is the concern of 'who' the argument is inherently about. A question- which is perhaps the starting point of most ethnographies- that remains plural and open to argument even in the final stages of analysis. Since the ethnography spans disparate areas of a Western metropolis, juxtaposing the narratives of actors who may have no social or direct spatial connection, the answer of 'who' is not clearly demarcated in spatial or practical terms. The ethnography follows tropes of resistance across the urban field, which leads to the

actors which shape, recognise, utilise, or event reject them. The sample of participants is unbound, and certainly not exhaustive for the research topic, but provides a window into the complex relations of urban actors to their changing political and economic lives. By accepting that this ethnography is about everybody, and nobody, in Madrid in the years following financial crisis and austerity, this thesis reattributes social complexity to the southern European ethnographic subject.

The epistemologically and (cosmo)politically adequate representation of social complexity is an issue that resonates across the historiography of Spanish Anthropology (or of Spain as the anthropological subject). The debate spans systemic oversights in the treatment of Spain by Anglo-Saxon scholars, sparking tension around the 'tribalisation' and homogenisation of the Meditarranean as a whole. Taking a hard stance in 1973, Andalusian anthropologist Moreno even claims that Anglo-Saxon scholars have taken a utilitarian approach to their fields in Spain, making them merely an academic stepping stone rather than tackling their local specificity and social complexity (Moreno, 1976 in Narotzky, 2005). Lins Ribeiro writes up these issues under the umbrella of 'cosmopolitics', investigating the historic dynamics of world systems as they are reflected in anthropological practice (2006: 379). Spain in particular, and the Mediterranean more broadly, are anthropological subjects and fields filled with 'historic predicaments embedded in the anthropological horizon' (ibid). Alterity, as expressed by the Anglo-Saxon ethnographer and as experienced by his local Spanish colleague, peer or participant, remains built upon national and international power asymmetries (Lins Ribeiro, 2006; 2014). The term of 'cosmopolitics' elicits these asymmetries as they have stemmed from the growth and ramifications of 'cosmopolitanism'. By even seeking 'authenticity' in any kind of 'periphery' (understood in a Eurocentric perspective), anthropology is 'doomed to [enact] another kind of Orientalism' (Lins Ribeiro, 2006: 379), essentialising and homogenising its subject as units of difference in a Eurocentric framework.

These debates of the World Anthropologies Network are themselves written in English, but comprise contributions from a number of non-Anglo-Saxon contributors. In the

current landscape of academic publishing, a number of sources relevant to contemporary resistance in Madrid as studied by local academics are still accessible only in the original Castilian. I offer this remark only as a caveat, but it suggests that (even in the case of this thesis), sources in the language of our informants undergo translation and interpretation before they are presented to an Anglo-Saxon examining or publication process. This thesis cannot claim to be lifted from the cosmopolitics that have affected the Mediterranean; however, as it reflects upon its own positionality and the potential of its participants to self-represent throughout the research, it hopes to overcome immobilising and essentialising tropes that have been critiqued in the southern-europeanist arm of the discipline. The loose methodological approach and the broad nature of the data presented here hopes to counter the 'theoretical colonisation' (Narotzky, 2005: 35-37). The arguments presented throughout this research, that neo-liberal crisis dynamics are insufficient to explain resistant identities in Madrid, inherently outrun their original impetus of crisis-studies to include deeper involvement with 'local history, political conflict and symbolic expressions' (Moreno, in Narotzky, 2005). As such, the tensions in this debate are addressed in new ways which bring local complexity to the fore not just of ethnographic execution, but of research design. In this instance, new readings on nostalgia, aesthetics and the partial nature of resistance have been drawn out of a field which, despite its geographic location, fails to fit any essentialised bill of 'Mediterraneaness' in the terms debated since the 1970s.

To follow Terradas's (1993) view, anthropology is both a scientific (analytic) and an artistic (evocative) reality; the knowledge produced is, as such, 'inherently political' (ibid) and drawn from interactions between the researcher and his subjects' 'evocative realities'. If contemporary ethnographies carried out in Spain follow earlier arguments of considering complex social fabrics as 'at home', they treat them with the complexity that prevents simplistic 'epistemological nativism' being thrust upon local voices, academic or otherwise (Narotzky, 2005). Equally important, as new texts emphasise local constructs of lived, oral and more distant history (in this case, spanning back to decisive societal fractures in the twentieth century), they reflect their informants' historiographies. Contributing to the debate on the Mediterranean dilemma, Boissevain (1979) notes that

ethnographers '[have a] tendency to tribalise', both through their emphasis on villages (see next sub section) and by their myopic 'examinations of the present in terms of only the very recent past'. Boissevain cites this as part of a 'British paradigm', rejoining Lins Ribeiro and Moreno's arguments on the treatment of Southern European field sites as stand-ins for the early twentieth-century site of the village, perpetuating the flawed imperatives of early Africanist traditions. This is also apparent in the semantics of 'tribalisation' chosen by Boissevain to make his argument.

Concretely, local voices in the ethnography of Spain (that is, studies of Spain carried out by Spanish social scientists) provide a counterpart to the 'dilemma' of the Mediterranean as field and subject. Critiques of the approaches taken, for instance, by Pitt Rivers, are addressed by Spanish scholars including Moreno; however, Narotzky (2005) notes that these retorts are rarely addressed in the Western anthropological discussion. This reflects perhaps earlier points made on the language of publication and the translatability of emic voices to international publishing-scapes; a tense point, since this returns inherently to the problem of 'epistemological nativism' that Narotzky denounces. These are questions for ongoing consideration, but this thesis hopes to contribute to an opening of our methodologies and question-making to the influences of participants as peers in the Southern European field. This prevents the homogenising, 'circum-Mediterranean perspective' (Albera, 2006)- no 'comparative endeavour' is carried out, and the key reference point is the 'historiography' of local memory and hardship as it is constructed in local texts.

Comparative endeavours are not entirely absent from the Spanish academic treatment of the crisis and its aftermath. Addressing memory and socio-historic tensions in Spain, as well as the crisis, Spanish anthropologists do reference the Greek counterpart (see chapter 3). The parallels drawn centre around similarities in economic practice enforced by central European organisms which class both nations as peripheral and sub-performing in their economic practice (Tsampra, 2018; Morell, 2012). This narrative of association is also tangible in the texts produced by the emerging Podemos party in 2014, a point which is discussed further in investigations of Pablo Iglesias's rhetoric in chapter 3. Further

studies of the crisis carried out by 'local' (or Spanish) anthropologists in cities in crisis have focused on the changing face of the public movement in light of social media (Morell, 2012; Castañeda, 2012, Romanos, 2014). The crisis and its effects are addressed in political science and historiographic terms, as well as producing ethnographies of moments of protest. Romanos (2011) examines the impact of protest structures in the Puerta del Sol on broader democratic practices in the country. Rodriguez- Giralt et al (2018) argue for Spanish social movements to be considered as 'encounters between authors, editors, movements, within movements and disciplinary approaches', taking an Actor-Network approach to the heterogeneous landscapes and texts of protest. Without explicitly citing Latourian parallels, this thesis aligns with these local social scientists in its overt project to be an open and inclusive ethnographic project.

Furthermore, local scholarship has produced the bulk of texts with which this thesis considers the role of memory, amnesty and trauma in relation to the crisis. Leizaola (2007) provides an overview of the opening questions in this research's treatment of unresolved conflict in Spain in the context of Zapatero's move toward recovering 'vanquished' memory. He touches upon, namely, the generational specificity of the Spanish memory recovery (grandchildren researching, where parents have not, their families' losses)- a theme which is reviewed in chapter 6). Much of the work produced by academics native to Spain has been influenced by the political fluctuations and conflicts under which they work- the opening up of excavations and investigations into peri-conflict executions under Zapatero, abandoned and de-funded under his PP successor, are the most evident of these. The literal digging for the past occurring from 2007 in rural areas of Spain stimulated a renewed interest from Spanish anthropologists, putting a forensic bent on the study of amnesty, memory and subordination. Inhabiting a particular timeframe by which they were neither ancient enough to be considered archaeological (100 years in Spanish legislature- Leizaola, 2007: 483-485), nor recent enough to warrant police investigations, the bodies sought by these exhumations became the jurisdiction of collectives and associations (ibid). These include the ARMH and the CIF, both of which were still involved in organising public demonstrations in Madrid which comprise part of the data for this fieldwork. Etxeberria and Sole (2019) note the

professionalisation of excavations since 2000, bringing together pluridisciplinary experts from legislature, archaeology, history and forensic anthropology. As other reviews of the impact of the *fosas* on communities and networks of memory have noted, the grassroots quality of excavations in Spain has left it open to being not only carried out by its local actors, but also written up and analysed by its academics as they engage reflexively with their own paradigms and analytical frameworks inherited from conflict (Barros, 2018; Cazorla and Schubert, 2018; Cenarró, 2008).

In light of this and other ongoing research carried out in Spain regarding the key themes of this thesis, what can be said of the lasting ramifications of a 'Mediterranean dilemma' in this arm of anthropology? The upcoming section reviews some key texts of the Anglo-Saxon anthropology of Spain, and the themes which emerge across the discipline's engagement with the field. More recently than the original 'dilemma' debates of the 1980s, Giordano (2012) has taken up the tensions accompanying Anglo-Saxon anthropologists' engagement with the Mediterranean (I use his arguments here to focus on Spain). He summarises the 'Mediterranean dilemma' in terms which I believe accurately reflect directions in the next literature review; namely, the transposing of methodologies from former colonial fields to those of southern Europe, the near-systematic choice of economically marginal field sites, and under-developed interest in relations to the historic past. Giordano (2012) points out the three broad themes, recurrent in the existent anthropology of Spain (being honor, status and gender; patronage; and the past). The repetition of these themes, he argues, has effectively 'pigeonholed [societies] into a flat, homogenous cultural area' (Llobera, in Giordano 2012: 24). Rather than divide the vast Mediterranean field into smaller, more manageable units of analysis, Giordano suggests that a solution to the 'dilemma' lies in its treatment as an 'historic region' (2012: 24) which allows for local dynamics and conflicts to be treated in their local importance. His approach to history is relevant to this thesis, as it sets foundations for chapters 4 (on local edifiers) and chapter 5 (on mnemonic constructs in resistance)- both draw upon the ethnographic imperative to 'reconstruct [the] plurality of history, and its efficiency in the present, by means of interpretive analysis' (2012: 21). Such an approach resonates with this project, to investigate the manners in which local resistant actors author and read new

texts of shared trauma in times of crisis. I add, before closing this section, a question which is touched upon in chapter 4 but remains open for further review. By way of anthropological historiography, Giordano identifies the ‘choice of socio-economically marginal field sites’ as a consequence of anthropology’s move away from its former (colonial) fields in the 1940s and 1950s. Whether the renewed engagement of the discipline with Spain and Greece in the wake of deep financial crisis and austerity, in 2008, reflects a similar dynamic, is discussed in terms of peripheralization dynamics in the chapter ‘Beyond the neoliberal divide’; with greater retrospective on the current disciplinary engagement with Spain and Greece than the scope of this thesis can offer, I hope to engage further with these questions on the ‘cosmopolitics’ of the field.

Reviewing key moments in the Anglo-Saxon ethnography of Spain

Early ethnographic accounts of Spain share a focus on rural regions and their transition to ‘modernity’. Characteristic is the example of Douglass’s work on rural economies and rural exodus from Basque villages (1975). The villages of Echalar and Murelaga are studied as representative of 'the response of peasantry to an emerging modern lifestyle' (Douglass, 1975: 4-7). Much like Behar and Collier (below), the concern of the ethnographer is with the transition of the rural lifestyle from standard to anachronistic. Douglass's economic focus is on patterns of inheritance and subsistence farming, describing a system in which gift-giving and mutual reliance bind domestic units together.

Gilmore’s (1987; 1998) analyses of life in Andalucia also perpetuate the tradition of ‘small community contexts’, and ‘small group cohesiveness’ (1987) in the ethnography of Spain. He draws upon earlier work by Brandes (1980) on carnival in the same region of Andalusia, which also focused on the themes of agricultural communities, popular celebration and folklore (see also Kertzer, 1988 and Gilmore, 1998). The ethnographies of 'carnival' as a moment of social release share the perspective that moments of satire, and the inversion of social roles, ultimately contribute to the predictability and stability of small-scale social groups. Similar arguments have been made by historical researchers of pre-industrial and even medieval festivals and carnivals in Europe (Dufournet, 1993).

Gilmore is critiqued by Moreno (in Narotzky, 2005) as having only a 'pragmatic and superficial involvement with local history, political conflict and symbolic expression' (Moreno, 1974 in Narotzky, 2005:36). As I have addressed in the previous sub-section, Moreno's critiques have been taken up by the contemporary World Anthropologies research group, critiquing an Anglo-Saxon school in which 'Andalusia [or Southern Europe] provides only the field' (Moreno, ibid), disavowing local political complexities and representation. I do, nonetheless, utilize Gilmore's 1998 research on Carnival and Culture in chapter 5. Without condoning a Pitt-Rivers-esque generalization of local meaning, I do consider Gilmore's analysis of satire and shared readings of Carnival to provide substantial contributions to contemporary disputes around performance, humour and repression in the 2016 'Libertad Titiriteros' protests (see chapter 5). The analysis of this protest and its motives correlates grassroots Madrileño discourses on satire with Gilmore's 1998 argument that misreading satire in a Carnival context is 'taboo', finding that participants in the Libertad Titiriteros movement often reflect his findings in an informed and reflexive manner.

Returning to the tropes which have shaped much of the Anglo-Saxon 'anthropological historiography' of Spain, the anachronistic and immobilising approaches to time, discussed by participants in the 'Mediterranean dilemma' debate, are also prevalent. Behar (1986), in an ethnography of a village in Leon written under the guidance of Fernandez, does write of 'the presence of the past', though the question is once again bound to the field site of the agrarian village. While the book promises a new entwining of history and ethnography, its predominant line of argument is concerned not with the significant macro-level shifts in Spanish society at the period of fieldwork (the transition from Franco's regime to his endorsed reinstatement of the monarchy which remains in power today). Rather, the 'past' present in Behar's fieldwork is articulated as local self-consciousness about modernity, in a village left behind by the 1980s *Movida* (Behar, 1986: 336). Despite taking an analytic approach to local written records in the rural field[1],

[1] 'I had no idea, when I set foot in the village for the first time, that there had been anything like a peasant written tradition in Spain', writes Behar in her introduction (1986: 5).

the focus of the ethnography remains concerned with 'agrarian communalism', as she uses the records for 'the study of house, kinship, marriage, community, reciprocity, money and land' (1986: 7).

While not binding their focus solely to village life, two further ethnographies of Spain published in 1997 take focus on gender. Collier (1997) conducts a longitudinal study of a village in Andalusia between 1963 and 1983. Her key discussions concern the articulation of tradition with 'modernity' (in Giddens's sense), suggesting that female subjectivities underwent a deep generational shift over the course of her study. Collier argues that, in the 1980s segment of the fieldwork, traditions are adopted electively. Her ethnography touches upon economic shifts, with particular focus on the economics of courtship as they shift from domestic to romantic frameworks. Collier's analysis even breaches questions which would later become central to the study of neoliberal thought in southern Europe, arguing that 'people who experience social status as inherited have a different conception of human reason from those who experience status as based on individual achievement' (1997: 209). Themes of self-invention and self-production are present in Collier's analysis as she addresses predictability in modern Spanish lives. Her focus on gender and tradition are echoed in Pink's (1997) research on traditional masculinities and bullfighting- a theme which elicits political reactions (Douglass, 1999). Both of these ethnographies touch upon dynamic, rather than immobilistic, views of rurality and rural life. Nevertheless, their focus remains on those themes present throughout this brief overview of key early Spanish ethnographies, and echoed in Giordano's (2012) appraisal of the anthropology of Europe: gender, patronage, honour, and generational time. This set of predominant themes leads me to argue that Anglo-Saxon anthropology's approach to Spain reproduces epistemological schema taken from the discipline's Africanist tradition (Fardon, 1999; Bollig and Bubenzer, 2009), replicating the methodologies applied to stateless societies. This aligns once again with Giordano's appraisal of the transference of methodologies from former colonial field sites to the voluntarily marginal, small-scale societies studied in Spain. The Mediterranean is conflated with the exotic (Kertzer, in Parman, 1998; Herzfeld, 1989); Kertzer places some blame for these approaches with the practitioners of anthropology themselves, who,

despite applying their methods in the Western European context, inadvertently seek out 'the manageable field setting, [where] the social boundary is clear and the scale human' (1998: 78).

Having articulated some of the arguments of the 'Mediterranean dilemma' debate as they occur in a selection of Anglo-Saxon ethnographies of Spain, I end this review with Lison-Tolosana's (1966) ethnography of an Aragonese village in *Belmonte de los Caballeros*. Though Oxford-trained, Lison-Tolosana provides an early emic voice in the anthropology of Spain, and his treatment of a small (under 2000 inhabitants) community north-east of Madrid presents treatments of time which are relevant to the research carried out in this thesis. The monograph considers not only participants' lived conflicts, but also their treatment and interpretation of broader political questions (the entering of Spain into the European free market, the industrialization of the village) and describes participants engaged, professionally, in the larger city of Zaragoza and working as migrant labour in France. Lison-Tolosana differentiates between generational time (or lived memory) and structural time, in which progress is neither linear nor automatic, but jumps forward or hankers back in the ways memory of conflict still does in Spain.

Authors have entered into discussions concerning the politics and 'cosmopolitics' (Lins Ribeiro, 2006, 2014) of anthropology practiced by and 'on' Southern European subjects. Goddard, Llobera and Shore (1994), in particular, seek out new emphasis on questions of citizenship and representation in the anthropology of Europe. They offer a critique of the place of Mediterranean studies in academic departments, and set out a new project for interdisciplinary approaches to the study of European societies- a project which, I argue throughout this thesis, has not quite materialised in the field of political protest and resistance. Goddard, Llobera and Shore (1994) address thematic concerns in the Southern European field which remain open to argument and influence as anthropology continues its engagement in the 'p14historic region' (Giordano, 2012).

3. Problem Statement

It is fitting, at this point in the introduction, to outline the problem statement and research questions, such as they are, that frame the following analysis. As discussed in the previous section, these questions are driven by new methodological imperatives to study political subjectivities in the organic, chaotic ways in which they arise in the field, progressively drawing out their central themes as they emerged in Madrid.

The renewal of the Spanish public with matters of protest and public engagement has been framed in terms of crisis and spontaneity, two concepts which I further outline later in the introduction. The taking to the streets of tens of thousands of 'ordinary Madrileños' (though my participant base, as I review in this chapter, cannot be whittled down to such a prosaicism), as they protested the hardship they endured at the hands of the few politicians behind austerity practices, presented a number of singularities which have drawn academic investigation. The apparent spontaneity of the 15M (critically reviewed by Flesher-Fominaya, 2015) quickly became a founding narrative for the movement, as it spread to global proportions (Graeber, 2011; see also Zižek, speaking in Zuccotti Park, New York). The willfulness of 15M to stay dissociated from the party politics and unions which made up the Spanish political landscape (developed in chapters 3 and 4) has framed the movement as a key signifier of renewed citizen engagement with practices of direct democracy. Finally, the 2011 movement's new engagement with social media and peer to peer sharing, inherited from the Arab Spring, opened new lines of inquiry into communication, self publication and community in a digital age (Postill, 2013; Juris 2008; Juris, 2014). In all these themes, the question and context of crisis and livelihood remain central.

Approaching the question of crisis and resistance in 2016, five years after the key moment of 15M, I had originally planned research around the policing of resistant bodies in the public space- taking impetus from the tales of police violence that frequently arose in 15M narratives. As this thesis will hopefully demonstrate, the aftermath of the vast protest movement, and ensuing return of Madrid to its day to day life, had cast resistance in a

new light; one which held more relevant questions as to the circumstances, motivations and lasting effects of 15M. Rather than let 15M and the Indignados be studied as a punctual moment of collective engagement, which had since faded, I spent two years of fieldwork trying to uncover how the movement (and resistance in general) were articulated in local narratives. How had an occupation of unprecedented scale failed to translate into lasting institutional or electoral change? While the emergence of a new electoral party (Podemos) had been covered by political scientists (Nez, 2015), between 2016 and 2018 the electoral weight of the party failed to outgrow its historic counterparts PP and PSOE, despite the effervescence of its origin. Breeching the boundaries of protest-ethnography, this thesis seeks to deepen investigation of the potential of popular protest, and the limitations it faces.

If broken down into short questions, the problems and gaps addressed in the following chapters are as follow:

- To what extent has the experience of 'crisis' shaped new instance of urban resistance in and since 15M?
- Why has the large-scale protest of 2011 receded despite the economic circumstances of its actors often stagnating?
- What tropes, images and narratives make up the collective imaginary of resistant actors, and how do they ultimately shape the outcome of protest in Madrid?

I argue that, rather than creating new social categories, crisis and economic collapse have created a tectonic shift along pre-existing socio-historic fault lines in Spain. These are rooted in collective understandings of accountability and social justice, within which positions of 'victor' and 'vanquished' underlie any resistant project.

4. Review of key themes and theories

Now that I have located the thesis in terms of existing literature in the field of Spain, I will outline the theories which, directly or tangentially, influenced this new analysis of resistance. Given the cross-sectional nature of the project, relevant theories are driven by, but not limited to, social anthropology; perspectives from human geography, memory studies, and social history are also included. I proceed thematically, first covering relevant literature in power and resistance. Secondly, I set out to review the economic theories of crisis, livelihood and subordination that will be used in the chapters. Finally, the last section of the literature review is concerned with theories of nostalgia and collective remembering, as these contribute to the argument towards an 'aesthetic' of resistance.

Concerning Resistance

Studies of power dynamics and resistance underscore much ethnographic research, from Geertz's classic 'Deep Play' resistance to the Indonesian police (2005), to Scott's 'hidden transcripts' (1990) or 'feminist anthropological' takes on subversion of gender-based subordination (Abu-Lughod 1990; Mahmood, 2005). This makes for a broad and diverse analytical tool, with 'everything from revolutions […] to hairstyles […] being described as resistance' (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004 in Rabinowitz, 2014).

Ethnographic approaches to resistance and the crisis

Political protest was experienced on an unprecedented scale of 'global protests against economic inequality and political misrepresentation' (Nail, 2013) in 2011, giving rise to a renouveau in the anthropology of urban political resistance (Urla and Helepololei, 2014; Knight, 2015; Romanos, 2014; Butler and Athanassiou, 2013; Juris, 2014). Rabinowitz (2014) has given the ensuing field of study 'Contemporary Metropolitan Protest', or CMP; and has, in the same publication, expressed a concern in the academic community around the homogenisation and essentialisation of urban resistance in various global locations. Theodossopoulos (2014 a, b) urges us to 'de-pathologise and de-exoticise' resistance. From Scott's (1990) original analytical tool of local, rural responses to global power, resistance must therefore be moved out of the modernist dichotomy of the foreign,

irrational, and romanticised- against tropes of rationality, modernity and health associated with the modern western form of government. This dichotomy places actors of resistance against disembedded knowledge systems, removing expertise from within the actor group itself (Giddens, 1991; Galtung, 1967).

In reaction to this alienating modernist construction of resistance as pathological, studies of the 2011 movements have sought to construct understandings of resistance through 'ethnographic praxis [aimed at] grasping the *affective* dimension of protest' (Juris, 2008, my emphasis). Tejerina et al (2013), focusing on studies of Spanish urban resistance, propose a study of 'the cognitive, emotional and relational processes at play in resistance movements' and how responses of 'joy, efficacy and empowerment' might shape new political subjectivities. Such grassroots understandings could counter tendencies, even amongst analyses of 2011 protest, to 'amalgamate morphologically analogous events'- even for the cases of Spanish, Greek and Italian spreads of protest, which need to be considered separately in terms of content and impact (Rabinowitz, 2014).

Since they spread to influence the American Occupy movement, protests in 2011 have warranted wide engagement from theorists of 'emancipatory politics' (including Žižek and Badiou), at events such as the 2011 *Communism: a new beginning?* conference (Nail, 2013). Knowledge about the 'actuality' (concrete and embodied practices) of urban resistance, how they create symbolic junctures in urban space (Rabinowitz, 2014), requires close readings of actor's own interpretations- for instance, with the 'deployment of Arendt's method of hermeneutic phenomenology [to] understand resistance through the narrative analysis of participants stories' (as suggested by Mavrommatis, 2015). Nail proposes Deuleuze and Guattari's methodology to follow 'rhizomes' of resistance subjectively.

Analytical sets of power and resistance

Foucault's assertion that 'where there is power, there is resistance' (1998: 95) has become central to studies of power and resistance as co-constitutive. Since ongoing political protest in Madrid engages with national legislation as it unfolds in context (see section 3), matters of 'governmentality' and the possibility of dissociating resistance from power

institutions is relevant. ‘Governmentality’ has been addressed by Dean (1999: 12) as a neological construct of ‘government’ and ‘mentality’, outlining the ‘mechanisms which try to shape, mobilise and work through the choices, aspirations, wants and lifestyles of individuals and groups’, producing subjectivities amenable to government (Dean, 1999). Governmentality, as a Foucauldian concept of power, applies to the neo-liberal contexts questioned by protests since 2011; this context touches thematically on questions of economic anthropology. ‘Neoliberalism is a mentality of rule because it represents a method of rationalising the exercise of government, a rationalisation that obeys the internal rule of maximum economy’ (Foucault, 1978, in Rabinow, 1997).

By suggesting that governmentality produces ‘a self maintaining, interiorised production of citizens suited to the fulfilment of [governmental policy]’ (Burchell, Gordon and Miller, 1991), this theoretical framework limits the subjective creativity driving urban protest networks, and will need to be addressed in the post-fieldwork analysis. In his ‘Foucauldian Analysis of Protest’, Death (2010) argues for the co-constitutive nature of power and resistance in neo-liberal societies, using Foucault’s definition of ‘counter-conducts’ as ‘the will not to be governed thusly, by these people, at this cost’ (Foucault, 2007: 75 in Death, 2010); the transformative potential of political resistance is therefore bound *within* the structure it opposes, rather than in creative spaces of understanding.

Anthropology of Power and Spaces of Subordination

When it was first introduced by Scott in 1985 (Rabinowitz, 2014), resistance became a ‘linchpin to imagine local ‘peasant’ responses to globalising forces’, acting against the ‘toxic dependencies in global dynamics’ (ibid) producing ‘untenable situations and unfulfilled desires’ (West and Sanders, 2003, in Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2010: 85). This type of categorisation of resistance as Scott’s ‘Weapons of the Weak’ places acts of resistance in global contexts of subordination. While the study proposed here is carried out in a European capital city, the protests are motivated by economic marginalisation. The project must therefore engage with literature surrounding global, post-colonial forms of subordination as they create the very ‘weak’ to which Scott refers. Theodossopoulos and Kirtsoglou’s (2010) edited volume provides a theoretical overview

of power and subordination in post-colonial contexts. As Gledhill has argued, 'it is now commonplace to argue that the end of formal colonial rule did not spell the end of colonial relationships between North and South; the old politico-administrative form of colonialism having simply been replaced by new, and more insidious, colonial relationships' (Gledhill, 1994: 6). This is a context that leads 'resistance' to be considered in terms of 'dissatisfaction with neo-liberal cosmopolitics, [and the] discrepancies in cosmopolitan experience that marginalise economic groups' (Goddard, 2010). These margins in which subaltern populations enact resistance are therefore born of economic dynamics, which perpetuate global processes centred on a powerful 'west' (Varoufakis, 2015; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001). Economic development is, by a process of amalgamation, associated with western-centric views of political development, creating typologies of 'modern' societies and their archetypal 'primitive' counterparts (Gledhill, 1994: 15).

Understood in this context, resistance is frequently portrayed in ways that hark back to Scott's 'weapons of the weak'; this has encouraged increasing analyses of resistance as local understanding, 'social processes at the hands of ordinary people' (Appadurai, 1996: 31) which can be studied within 'culturally occupied locales' (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001, in Theodossopoulos, 2010). What Gledhill describes as 'New Social Movements' (or NSM), introduce 'marginal' social groups into political processes, highlighting popular responses that do not fit into institutional frameworks of representation (Gledhill, 1994: 179). The casting of resistance, as an 'outside' to modern national structures, makes it 'mostly unofficial, not very systematic or articulate, but meaningful within its own cultural specificity' (Theodossopoulos, 2010: 2). Beyond being culturally specific, resistance to hegemonic economic and cultural structures (in the Gramscian sense of cultural hegemony) becomes transformative and creative (Ortner, 1995; Layton, 2006; Seymour, 2006) and creates solidarity between discontinuous groups- a 'shared positionality of the subaltern' (Theodossopoulos and Kirtsoglou, 2010).

Relevant Theories in Economic Anthropology

Austerity: de-sovereignising state politics?

Resistance in Madrid since 2011 has tangibly articulated around ‘austerity’ as a hollow category (Theodossopoulos, 2006), one which can be filled with meaning through actors’ narrative and experience. Austerity is associated with executive European powers, enacted by local collaborators in a political ‘caste’ (Iglesias, 2015). In the context of crisis and hardship, blame placing is frequently articulated around the ‘Troika’ as a central discursive node, seen as powerful, marginalising and outside of the local group itself (Knight, 2015); concretely, the term designates the institutions of the International Monetary Fund, the Central European Bank, and the European Commission (Schullen and Müller, 2012). Being localised outside of the European South where austerity has had its harshest impact, the Troika is therefore reified by resistance, and given substance as an unknowable, liberalising, ‘opaque and unnaccountable [economic institution]’ (Della Porta and Caiani, 2009). The political elites with which local resistance engages are therefore seen as themselves subject to an outside authority, re-creating the peripheral ‘crypto-colonies’ (Herzfeld, 2002) described above; Cowan (2007) refers to the effects of the process using the term ‘supervised states’, emphasising theories of a spectrum of power within which states engage, rather than bound territorial sovereignty.

Kapferer (2005, 2010) has further developed the analysis of state subordination to economic forces in his description of ‘the aporia of power and corporate states’. ‘Globalisation and the corporate state are both the condition and the effect of the other’ (Kapferer, 2010). This echoes Layton (2006), on political systems not as the result of teleological progress, but rather as adaptive systems that adjust to, and in turn shape, the influences on their form. It makes sense, therefore, that economic forces should impact upon government. Since Polanyi’s (1944, in Block, 2001) theory of a ‘great transformation’, by which economic processes are disembedded from social and political constraints, nations in turn create the circumstances by which markets gain potency (Kapferer, 2010). Recognising the centrality of economic processes in global and local politics is key to understanding subaltern experience in Europe; the embeddedness of the economic into the political re-creates ‘a statist mythos of post-colonial autonomy that hegemonically disguises the continuing dependency and vulnerability of *superficially autonomous territories*, which rely on political economic forces, often centred in former

colonial metropoles' (Kapferer, 2010: 138, my emphasis).

The 'Precariat': political solidarity and economic marginalisation

Literature analysing the social effects of the 2008 Eurozone crisis have suggested that its length and depth create new social associations. Standing (in Schram, 2013) uses the term 'precariat', as a reworking of Marxist 'proletariat', to designate the new social formation born of crisis precarity.

Foucauldian theory of biopolitics can be useful to understand conceptions of precarity as they are formulated by Butler (2011, in Schram, 2013). The instability of livelihood, welfare and wellbeing in western democratic contexts can be seen as a manifestation of one's failure to maximise on one's own 'capital' (Foucault, 1978, in Lemke, 2001). The 'precariat', as theorised by Standing, include previously dissociated 'classes'; precarity creates a commonality between traditionally precarious groups (such as the long-term unemployed, illegal migrants, or the homeless) and new member groups- these include the downwardly mobile middle class, young graduates, or the increasingly vulnerable professional class (Schram, 2013). This is articulated by Butler, with particular regard to the 2011 protest movements as a scene of 'diverse groups acting in concert' (Butler, in Schram, 2013). These new articulations of unity have been instrumental in assuring the impact and longevity of popular political involvement in Spain since 2011 (Castañeda, 2012; Martín García, 2014; Romanos, 2014; Flesher-Fominaya, 2015).

Precarity is identified as a binding category of experience within neo-liberal economic societies, and reflects key aspects of the doctrine (though neo-liberalism remains intangible and unbound in practice- Davies, 2014: 3). 'Neo' liberalism differs from classic liberal doctrines in the 'penetrative aspect of [its policies], bringing market logic to bear on seemingly every facet of social life' (Brodie, 2007 in Braedley and Luxton, 2010: 7). Competition, promoted as a maximiser of individual freedom, places responsibility on the individual rather than on political structures- neo-liberalism thus renders human life 'amenable to economic calculation' (Brown, 2015). Precarity, as a result of economic

crisis, reflects the inherent unpredictability and uncertainty which neo-liberal doctrine creates as a side-product of maximum market economy (Davies, 2014).

Urban victims of precarity in Europe articulate their experience of crisis economically, around tropes that have been identified by Narotzky and Besnier (2014) as 'livelihood', 'value', 'crisis' and 'hope'. Each of these tropes invites its own in depth analysis of local narrative and constructions; to follow Narotzky (1997: 40), they create tangible links between processes of economic 'production' and social 'reproduction'. Market dynamics and 'manufactured austerity' (Schram, 2013) therefore create new social identities, articulated around 'livelihood' (defined as '[how] ordinary people with limited decision-making ability, in terms of wealth, develop their own strategies for their wellbeing'- Narotzky and Besnier, 2014). 'Wellbeing' is defined as 'reasonable material and emotional comfort' (ibid), and is impacted on, in conditions of austerity, by uncertainty which can culminate in material poverty and, in extreme cases, suicide (Knight, 2015).
Urban protest, in the context of crisis, engages themes beyond national politics, including local interpretations of the foundations of economic moral doctrine; this includes 'reciprocity', with 'equality and balanced exchange' as its moral starting point (Narotzky and Moreno, 2002). Ethnographic analysis of local experience and narratives can hopefully contribute to elucidating the dynamics at play behind local and global economics and social contracts, as they are experienced by actors.

An approach to integrating theories of collective memory and nostalgia into studies of protest.

As reviewed in the previous section, research on the 2011 social movements in Spain makes tangible connections between new experiences of austerity, shared across vast segments of society, and the type of solidarity between actors seen in the 15M occupations. This thesis ultimately argues that such instances of 'solidarity' (if they can be described as such) draw upon deeper collective understandings than just the experience of economic hardship and the transition from middle class to precarity (Davies, 2014; Narotzky and Besnier, 2014; Gray, 2016; Cameron, 2014). These understandings are

derived from an ideological genealogy of resistance and repression linking back to the Spanish Second Republic of 1932 and the civil war waged after Franco's 1936 coup. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 hone in on the manifests of this genealogy of repression as they arise in the urban field. In order to set the scene for such analysis of contemporary resistant process, I now review the literature on trauma and collective memory. These thematics are central to integrating perspectives on how people self-identify and identify one another as 'resistant', as they connect available visual, aural and narrative resources.

Relevant theory of violence and trauma

The political reaction to crisis in southern Europe is often framed in terms of violence-experienced as the imposition of suffering by the powerful on the powerless (Humphrey, 2013: 1). In the framework of this thesis, the theme of violence spans direct matters of brutality and repression in protest; it touches upon questions of citizenship (who is and is not susceptible to be violently treated), and finally becomes a shaping narrative, as resistant actors collectively experience and narrate their experience as 'trauma'.

In his account of 'aggression and community' in Andalusia, Gilmore (1987) draws out the potential for 'aggression' to have a group-binding effect, provided it is moderated. His focus is on aggression and satire in the 'predictable' environment of Carnival, in which acts of transgression and mockery suffered by individuals form a process of socialisation (1987:23). I do not suggest that this thesis's approach to violence perfectly fits Gilmore's model; my analysis diverges notably in that 15M and its aftermath do not constitute a predictable and perennial consensus of social release. Nonetheless, the concept of violence as socially formative does resonate, as it does in Feldman's (1991) suggestion that 'violence shapes conceptions of the self and of struggle across time' (in Robben and Nordstrom, 1995). This is particularly relevant to chapter 6, in which I consider directly the genealogical link that contemporary protest vindicates, to historic instances of suffering and aggression in the urban milieu. While Gilmore's 'aggression and community' is concerned with a repeated tradition of subversion and disorder in Carnival, the Indignados movement was and remains attached to the 'spontaneous' aesthetic of its

2011 vigour and popularity. In that respect, the movement's relation to violence better fits Scott's (1990) description of a 'rare explosive moment when populations seem to rise up at once in resistance of previously accepted domination'. Whilst I review the semantics of spontaneity in accordance with this, the dominant narrative of 15M leaders (see chapter 4), the theoretical openness of this thesis rides closer to Theodossopoulos's (2014a) critique- that it is insufficient to treat resistance as if it exists in a clear-cut and self-aware power binary. In his argument on the pathologising of resistance, Theodossopulos notes that the perceived perspective of protest disruptions for disorder and destructive conducts further pathologises resistance as irrational. In practice, the concept of violence in 15M is more salient in terms of its negation- 'non-violence' as a defining quality of 15M's actions (Hughes, 2011; Castañeda, 2012, frames this quality as willfully separating the movement from the expected behaviour of 'anarchists', a theory which I review in chapters 3). The actuality of violence in protest (and in the retrospective narratives that have grown up since 2011) hinges on questions of police violence. García (2013) analyses protesters' narratives of unjust and violent treatment received at the hands of the *policía* and *guardia civil* in Spanish cities, against institutional efforts to practice 'softer' forms of repression of resistance. These questions show the intersection, within this topic, of structural and physical violence (Farmer et al., 2004; Fassin, 2011). Throughout the following chapters, questions and definitions of violence and its subjects are called upon to untangle local meanings of repression. These include, at ground level, the participant beaten by a police truncheon (García 2013) but grow, through the concept of structural violence, to touch upon the nature of citizenship and rights itself. In chapters 5 and 6, grassroots narratives point to experiences of dispossession recasting actors as de-classed citizens. Violence, in the context of crisis, is not limited to its physical and pain inflicted dimensions, but creates environments of hardship in which 'aspiration, desire, risk-taking and self-creation' are all affected (Scarry, 1985 in Humphrey, 2013).

Trauma, reconciliation and violence as shared past

'Trauma is not only an unfortunate by-product of modernity, but a central feature of it' (Olick and Demetriou, 2006: 75). Tropes of collective trauma in the past open up questions of reconciliation and amnesty, as these fluctuate both locally and nationally in Spain following economic and political times of boom and crisis (Aguilar, 2002). In ethnographic studies of trauma and reconciliation, South Africa's 'truth and reconciliation' project of the 1990s provides theoretical background for the management of grievances at the local and national level (Colvin, in Rossington and Whitehead, 2000; Ross, 2003). Colvin (2000) notes that, in the case of apartheid, trauma becomes a pivotal experience against which the present is judged. Amnesty is reached through the naming of a wrong and the 'author-izing- (ibid) of a new history. Studies of the actors and texts of reconciliation centre on the giving of voice to subordinate populations, which echoes within the study of the historic 'Republica' and its continued influence in Madrid.

Humphrey (2013) notes that the witnessing of violence shapes the narratives that are passed down generationally: political power is located as the source of violence, and 'suffering' (which is also central to understandings of the contemporary economic crisis) as 'the legacy of violence in individual bodies as memory'. When questions of passed-down narratives arise in this thesis, I draw upon Humphrey to consider whether 'witnessing' is adaptive- can re-creations of past trauma by those who did not 'witness' it (autobiographically) affect change in their readings of present suffering?

Tropes of civil war related trauma are also triggered in local narratives by shifts in economic circumstance. As Fujii (2004) has written, 'the micro-level literature on violence has shown that local people use the opportunity of war, genocide, and other forms of organised violence for personal gain'. As my participants often note in their discussions of the crisis and property in the city, a collective experience of hardship can be narratively traced back to imbalances brought about in the 1936-1939 war. In the light of neoliberal crisis, the opaque 'personal gain' derived from times of trauma and repression is brought back to collective imaginaries.

Recent scholarship on Spain and trauma has honed in on the inheritance of the civil war, through the lens of forensic anthropology and the uncovering of mass graves across Spain's countryside, dating back to three years of conflict but also the years following Franco's ascent to power (see chapter 6). Ferrandiz (2018) maps changing attitudes to exhumations over a longitudinal 8-year study- these are said to be shaped by economic as well as socio-historic factors, with the cost of 'amnesty and recuperation' considered differently under two different governments. The materiality of memory, when cost is considered, becomes an ontological as well as a political question. Renshaw (2016) observes, as she writes of exhumation projects in a Spanish village, that associations of civil society compete over the symbolic capital of graves and bodies. The fragmentation between political and historic associations around questions of memory has lead to fits and starts in the progress of recovering Spanish civil war victims. The topic nevertheless enjoys ongoing academic and lay-media attention; in 2018, the Ayuntamiento de Madrid funded research projects at the Complutense University, working toward a comprehensive list of Franco's 'disappeared' victims between 1939 and 1945 (see chapter 6). The forensic anthropology of graves and the broader theories of trauma contribute to the study of contemporary resistance, since resistant actors draw on narratives of loss to make sense of their struggles in pluri-temporal structures (Stewart and Knight, 2016).

Relevant theories of collective memory

The field of memory studies is vastly beyond the scope of this research, and spreads far outside the bounds of ethnographic and anthropological study. I narrowly select certain contributions to the field of collective memory, memorials, and the production of memory (without autobiographical experience). I consider these fields to be relevant to the formation of contemporary resistant identities in the city of Madrid. Labanyi (2007) identifies 'memory with deliberate effort and human labour' as 'memory work', a concept which applies to the deliberate and politicised processes through which resistant Madrileños engage with their opaque history. The past, in Spanish representations, is still inherently politicised (as I discuss throughout the last three chapters of the thesis): in chapter 4, a participant complains that the teaching of Spanish history in schools still

suffers greatly from an effort to create amnesty through silence. Papadakis (2008) points to the role of the classroom in collective memory, as textbooks and classroom experiences become 'public rituals for producing a new national memory and history'. The 'memory' at play here is official and national memory, to be dissociated from autobiographical memory (Labanyi, 2007). In contexts of making and negotiating the meaning of collective trauma, 'memory goes beyond autobiographical processes of recollection to encompass broader generational processes' (ibid). Thusly, we are able to speak of 'memory' whilst analysing the discourse of a generation of Madrileños born after the death of Franco in 1975. Memory becomes a project to be constructed, as actors are faced with the cover-ups of post-war archives. Cenarro (2008) cites the case of the 'Auxilio Social', a welfare-state feature of post-war Spain, the goal of which was the 'erosion of identity' amongst the vanquished. Cenarro writes of 'a widespread mobilisation for the recovery of memory, crystalised in the appearance of hundreds of local and regional associations'. These associations, I propose, frequently coincide in Madrid's spaces with those activist groups inherited from 15M; it is the actors themselves who bridge the gap between resistance to crisis and resistance to the lacuna of memory.

Kattago (2015) reviews the social importance of 'forgetting' alongside remembering, and the role of forgetting in creating social cohesion. These questions become central when local actors begin to read crisis in terms of retrospective, historic tensions in accountability. Aguilar (2002) writes, in a history and historiography of memory and amnesia of the civil war, that remembrance of pre-conflict years was utilised in Francoist discourse, in order to associate the totalitarian regime with times of economic growth, stability and progress (growth common to western Europe between 1950 and 1975: Romero-Salvadó, 1999). The complexity of politicised memory, in situations of incomplete national amnesty, has impact upon circles of protest and activism which I highlight throughout the chapters. In keeping with theories of collective memory as collective instruction that can be politically manipulated, Sontag (2003: 86) posits that 'what is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that this is important and this is the story of how it happened, with the pictures that lock the stories in our minds'. I both agree with and diverge from this statement in the course of this

analysis- the prevalent role of collectively recognised images is embraced in chapter 5, but in chapters 4 and 5 I posit that collective remembering does occur in grassroots dynamics, re-evaluating theories of 'stipulation'. 'Memory politics', writes Pettai, 'remains under-conceptualised' and 'requires further specific study of elite discourses' (in Kattaga, 2015: 238-250). In considerations of resistance and remembrance in urban landscapes, this thesis contends that Pierre Nora's 'milieux de mémoire' (1989), 'real environments of memory' (Hastrup, 1992) are revived in resistant circles against the institutional memorialisation of memory into 'lieux de mémoire'. This reversal provides one approach in which the ethnography of resistant actors can help further conceptualise the politicisation of memory.

5. Chapter outlines.

Chapter 2 is a continuation of the thesis introduction. It hones in on the choice of Madrid as a field site and reviews the ethnographic implications of conducting field work in a European capital. The chapter then reviews the methodology of the thesis, with particular focus on sampling and the range of participants involved in the research. I set up a defense of the methods behind chapters 4 and 5, which allow for messy, organic sampling of actors involved in a spectrum of urban resistance participation, from activists, authors, to lay people and those on the margins, who read resistance in their city from the outside. The chapter also provides a review of the methods of online ethnography that have become central to the study of protest in a peer-to-peer sharing context. These new approaches require particular attention to changes in the ethics and consent which we obtain in our fields. I address this in the final pages of the chapter.

One central argument of this thesis, and of **Chapter 3** in particular, is that economic crisis alone is not sufficient to explain the spread and recession of public protest and engagement since 2011. To this end, Chapter 3 begins by reviewing the changes to the social fabric of protest, participation and representation as they are and were articulated by 15M actors. Due to the timeline of the fieldwork (spanning 2016 to 2018), much of the data used in the first section of the chapter is drawn from the academic literature on

the 2011 movements, as well as retrospective narratives from those actors in the field who recalled living through the movement. Using these sources, I draw out and review three key tenets of the 15M and its lasting impact: first, the changes to representations of citizenship and participation; secondly, the founding trope of solidarity and spontaneity which shaped the early movement and its legacy (I find this discourse to be partly inaccurate, but review its impact in shaping local support for the movement); finally, I consider the political usages made of the 'spontaneous' movement as it translated into the emergence of new political parties and a shift in the Spanish electoral scene. The chapter also reviews the dismantling of the 15M's camp on Sol, and the discourses of hygiene and accountability that overtook the founding trope of 'spontaneity' once the protest extended in time. Working through local and scholarly definitions of neoliberal subjectivity, I conclude that 21st century economic practice is insufficient to adequately frame the local meanings of 'crisis' and 'resistance' in Madrid.

Chapter 4 investigates further the limitations of spontaneous grassroots discontent in realising large-scale acts and discourses of protest. I argue that resistant discourses are produced, shared and interpreted by 'edifiers', a disparate collection of actors who create and share visual and narrative content pertaining to resistance. I analyse interview data gathered with authors, bloggers, photographers, film directors, historians and journalists, in which we conjointly unpack both the impetus behind their authorial activity and its impact on a discontented wider population. I argue that the texts produced by edifiers create existing structures and narratives of resistance for newly politicised actors to adhere to- thus undermining the 15M's founding trope of spontaneous, grassroots eruptions of discontent. This chapter builds on existing studies of social media and ICTs in protests; rather than focus on ICTs from a logistical perspective, it proposes new anthropological readings of those who create and promote the pre-existing narrative background into which occasional or once-resistant actors can inscribe and interpret their actions and positions. It also reviews the ethnographic process of 'studying sideways' (Hannerz, 2002) and the engagement with other content producers and participants who ably self-represent and constitute their own published narrative. I conclude, from this sideways ethnography in Madrid's resistant circles, that the existence of a sub-stratum of

content producers invalidates romanticised (Theodossopoulos, 2014a) readings of resistance as 'spontaneous'. Furthermore, the aesthetic and narrative structures that they prepare for new engaged actors limits the transformative potential of resistance, setting it in pre-existing narratives.

Chapter 5 is perhaps the most pivotal in the methodological and ontological arguments of this thesis. It further analyses resistance in terms of the pre-existing narrative and aesthetic structures that its meanings fit into. The chapter begins with a theoretical analysis of the 'aesthetic' and why it is a fitting category for the study of resistance. The body of the chapter engages with the partial, part-time and peripheral positions which actors often occupy in their resistance. The result is a chapter in defense of unbounded ethnography, and conjointly addresses the visual, aural and narrative signifiers which actors call upon, as they 'do' resistance by reproducing and recognising aesthetic signifiers. The ethnography in this chapter uses a selection of two protests in February 2016; these were selected as significant as their size and nature were not extraordinary, and they mobilised a wide cross-section of participants. The themes of irony, satire, and subversion are present in the semantics of these protests; they also present a window into the ethnographic juxtaposition of economics, history, and social injustice tropes in the field. The third section of the chapter draws out the nostalgic and retrospective qualities of the signifiers that make up recognisable resistant context in the messy ethnographic context of the city. Finally, the analysis progresses to argue that a collective imaginary of resistance is continually re-constructed by actors, as an 'audience' to resistant signifiers in the city. Since these signifiers rely on transmission that is often incomplete, adaptive and subjective, I argue that resistance in Madrid relies on the existence of a 'complicit audience', an audience able to recognise and interpret its tropes in the field.

Chapter 6 is an ethnographic analysis of the city as it shapes and is shaped by meanings of resistance. I argue that the structural and architectural features of Madrid have taken on new symbolic meaning since the crisis of 2008, including readings of hopelessness, opacity and subordination read into sites of protest, consumption and socialisation in the city. After a review of the conceptual importance of landscape (which owes a great debt

to Tim Ingold, 1993), I return to introductory points made in chapter 2, this time unpacking the symbolic capital of the city as it is experienced by its residents. As is necessary in any research born of economic crisis, the chapter also considers questions of ownership and dispossession, building on questions raised in chapter 3. In keeping with Ingold, I consider how the tasks carried out by actors during and since 2011 have contributed to new readings of the urban landscape. Building on the conclusion of chapter 5, the approach to landscape considers the temporality of its re-creation and of its readings- the ethnography in this chapter deals conjunctly with shops closed by economic pressures, squares successively staging mass protests and mass consumption, cemeteries re-purposed as historically activist locales. I consider whether the repurposing of meaningful spaces through time is formative of resistant narratives, and conclude that retrospective gazes (toward the protest that ended, the shop that closed or toward the mass grave) contribute to casting resistance in a disenchanted light.

Chapter 7 serves as a brief conclusion to the thesis, addressing in turn how the preceding chapters have answered (or not) the problem statement. It reviews the contributions made by the thesis to the fields it touches upon, and proposes directions in which these could be explored further. I propose that this thesis is above all an invitation to study matters of urban resistance organically, in the cross-sections that this entails across participant bases and even disciplines. The messy, unbound ethnographic data organised into thematic chapters suggests that there is a lot more to resistance in crisis-scapes than can be explained through economic binaries of power and subordination. The chapter also offers short insights into developments in the field since 2019, and muses on the potential shapes that Spanish and European ethnography could take over the next years. In conclusion, it posits that resistance to crisis and austerity in Madrid is shaped by complex, pre-existing social fissures, and that resistance is set in retrospective, disenchanted gazes which limit its transformative potential.

Chapter Two:

On Methodology

I. Introductory remarks

The original impetus behind this research finds its roots in 2011, when, facing perceived national and international injustice, Madrileños in their thousands took to the

central square of their city to stage what would be the first of many immobile- 'encampment'- protests across the country. Madrid's Puerta del Sol, a hub of social, economic and transport activity in the city, suddenly traded its habitual population of street vendors, performers, tourists and shoppers for a new landscape of protest and indignation.

An sudden urban topography of temporary shelters, street art, slogans and assemblies gave new physical, visual dimensions to resistance to neo-liberal ethics and the suffering they engendered. Rapidly, the 'indignant' (*indignados*) movement was picked up in major cities across the country, with branches in Barcelona almost outweighing the original roots in Madrid.

These spontaneous communities of protest, made unique by their astute use of social media to increase reach and impact, provided a new field for anthropologists of resistance; they brought about a renewed and highly productive academic interest in themes of resistance and economic violence that had hereto been focused primarily on global dynamics of power, development and subordination (Escobar, 2011).

The original design of this project, as it was proposed in 2013, was very much inspired by new, exciting research being carried out on how people were using new technologies to negotiate their relationship to the power systems, and physical spaces, they lived in. Pre-fieldwork visits to Spain in 2013 confirmed what I had hoped to find- that resistance in the city continued to animate discontented voices in the centre of Madrid. They were still present in Sol, carrying out *asembleas* similar to those of the effervescent '15M' encampment of 2011; although in the summer two years later, these were drawing in a stable participant audience of only a few dozen.

Undeterred, I decided that resistance in Madrid was still alive and well and that I should orient my thesis towards anthropological readings of power and network in online resistance, following in the steps of Juris (2008) and aspiring to join a cohort of excellent protest ethnographies (Urla and Helepololei, 2014; Theodossopoulos, 2014a, 2014b; Narotzky and Besnier, 2014; Knight, 2015).

During the following 18 months, I lived and occasionally worked in Madrid, familiarising myself not with only those surviving groups of anti-neoliberal activists in the city, but socialising across a variety of local communities and uncovering some of the discreet

dynamics that operate across the neighborhoods of the centre. In this chapter on methodology, I will be paying attention not only to the methods employed in gathering data on resistance, but will be taking an organic approach to the inherent difficulties that this project presented in Madrid, in 2016 and 2017. By 'organic approach' I mean to say that I have learnt to consider the unavailability, scarcity, or inconsistency of data as being in itself of analytical interest. The resulting thesis follows the epistemological imperative to give weight to the incomplete, inchoate nature of resistance and resistants in the field, rather than analyse a survey of manifest protest in the city which I would have known to be incomplete in its meaning. 'Activism', in its purest participatory form, can and has been found in any of the European cities in which we have sought to study it. The ethnographic data gathered in Madrid has compelled me to undertake a grappling with the inconsistent, incomplete nature of resistant identities- how, for instance, one can be a one time or an occasional *anarquista* whilst consenting to pay for state university education, or how one can interpret one's engagement in party-related protests in terms of jumbled Marxist, communist and historical ideologies. The list of these digressions of resistance from the clear outline of anti-austerity protest goes on, and I examine the main, recurring axes along which they are articulated. These are further detailed in the chapter outlines provided at the end of the introduction.

By following the digressions of resistance in Madrid, rather than its organised, canonical text, I hope to provide new insights into the (mis)interpretation of resistant meaning at a grassroots level. An ethnography which follows urban protest only in its successful moments and organising circles risks overlooking what, to me, has become a crucial question in the study of resistance: how it fails to mobilise durably and, ultimately, its failure to translate into lasting change. Understanding better the shortcomings of political resistance saves us from idealising or romanticising it (Theodossopoulos, 2014a) and provides new insights into contemporary European citizenship.

2. Capital importance: A first approach to Madrid

Textbook Madrid

Any ethnographic analysis of the above- and below-ground streams of resistance in Madrid must first come with some dryer, general introduction to the city and its geography, both spatial and human.

With a population of 6,5 million in its *comunidad* and 3.3 million in its *municipalidad* (2017 census[2]), Madrid is the third most populous city in Europe, following London and Berlin. It easily dwarfs its first national runner up, Barcelona, almost doubling the coastal city in terms of inhabitants if not in economic weight. Between them, the two metropolises hold the only national titles of *ciudades millionarias*, homes to over one million inhabitants. The other largest Spanish cities see a sharp decrease in size, with Valencia, Sevilla, Zaragoza, Malaga and Bilbao ranging between 600,000 and 350,000 inhabitants.

With the exception of Zaragoza, Madrid is unique in the ranking of largest Spanish cities due to its non-coastal location. Situated near the geometric centre of the Spanish mainland, it occupies a topographically isolated location. Flanked to the north-west by the Sierra de Guadarrama, it has the highest elevation of any European capital. To one visiting the city, the news of such elevation may come as a surprise- though it is hilly (in some *barrios,* abruptly so), there is little in the architecture or sprawl of the city to put one in mind of the mountainous range to which it is so close. On a clear day however, if one is to stand at an appropriate spot west of the town centre, views out to the neighbouring town of El Escorial and the *sierra* (literally, 'saw', in reference to the rugged blades of geological accident) beyond, abruptly remove any impression of a city build on a dusty central plateau.

To the south and east of the urban sprawl, the country extends into practically uninterrupted plains; when driving east to Valencia, or south to Malaga and Andalusia, one is impressed upon primarily by a relatively flat landscape of hardy, shrubby vegetation. On one occasion in the spring of 2017, I happened to be driving south to

[2] http://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=2853

Andalusia with two young men from the city. I suggested that we might carve up the long straight drive by stopping in one of the towns along the way; this was met with scoffs at my romantic notions of central Spain. 'Stop, um, *where* exactly', asked the driver ironically, while the other passenger suggested that I might like to see 'a very interesting gas station about an hour south of Madrid'. I initially took this to be irony- the six-hour drive to the southern coast is punctuated mostly by identical Repsol service stations and by the greenhouses of mass farming in the South. I was astonished to find that there was in fact a road-side cafe, where he had told me, that was of singular interest in its unabashed Francoism- this accidental ethnographic encounter is developed further in the course of the thesis. For a local reading of the expanse of Spain between Madrid and the busy southern coast, I stick with David's emphatic statement: 'it is a six hour drive and everything is as you see it [from the car]. We won't stop'.

Sleeping, Working: centre and periphery

If observed from a satellite view, Madrid appears as a dense oblong urban area, stretching north-east to south-west in parallel to the mountain range alongside it; its sprawl then thins into mottled, discontinuous pockets which range as far as 40 km from the bright centre. When superimposed with a road map of the area, these correspond with the *barrios dormitorios*, or boarding-house neighbourhoods, of the densely populated *municipios* outside of the outer limit of the city proper. The *municipio* of Fuenlabrada, located south of the outer ring road made up by the M40 motorway, had a population of over 194,000 inhabitants in 2017; their neighbours in Mostoles counted over 206,000. While theses municipalities do not count toward the city of Madrid proper, they nonetheless contribute to the urban and economic landscape of the city, surrounding the centre with heavily urbanised areas of high population density.

The city of Madrid is bordered, as I have mentioned, by two ring roads. The first, the M30, encompasses what would pass as *intra-muros* quarters, if one were following the Parisian model. A wider concentric circle is made up of the M40, inside of which *barrios dormitorios* make up much of the urban fabric of what still counts, in postcode terms, as

Madrid city. I spent early fieldwork days living in one such *barrio*, Garcia-Noblejas, to the east of the M30, and gained a limited sense of the residence of vast numbers of Madrid's *clasa obrera*- a broad designation of the working classes. The population of my neighbourhood was made up primarily of an ageing Spanish middle class (most of my Spanish neighbours owned the apartments which they lived in, or these homes were occupied by younger generations of the same family once grandparents had passed away or moved away, to villages further from the centre); the second demographic of note in this otherwise not particularly noteworthy *barrio* was heavily made up of younger, working Latin American families. The area appeared busy enough, with young mothers and their children, and teens going to or from one of the two local *institutos*, high schools. Nevertheless I must remark on the accuracy of the (sometimes derogatory) description of these urban areas as 'dormitories'. The architecture, usually bulk-constructed during Madrid's hungry expanse into neighbouring areas during the economic growth of the 1960s and early 1970s, shares some of the design features you might expect from a new university campus. The large, five-to-ten story high structures are thoughtfully arranged around green areas and walkways, some of which house a small cafe. They are not devoid of all and any local commerce. However, to reach any concentration of supermarkets, ATMs, veterinary clinics, opticians or larger eateries, one had the choice of walking two kilometers down the main artery of Calle de los Hermanos Garcia Noblejas, to las Rosas shopping centre (a self contained mall inspired by the model of entertainment, food, shopping and parking under one roof), or up the same road 1.8 kilometers to the Pueblo Nuevo area. Both could be accessed by metro or bus; but this does serve to demonstrate that, in this researcher's limited experience of the *barrio dormitorio,* it was possible to live almost in the middle of four kilometers of uninterrupted large housing buildings.

The majority of the ethnographic data for this thesis was gathered inside the central barrios within the belt of the M30, where I eventually moved to be closer to what I perceived to be the heart of political and social activities. Many participants whom I came to interview, however, had no such thoughts of living centrally. Victor, who I would interview six times in total, travelled in from Arganda-del-Rey, 33km out of town, and thought nothing of it. Perceptions of place, distance and the role of the 'city' as a stage

and player in everyday life will transpire throughout chapters, as ethnographic encounters are unpacked.

The sheer size of Madrid incurs an exceptional situation, both spatially and socially. Ethnographically, it has lead to reflexive and methodological explorations: of the place of holism in modern day research, of the possibility of really knowing the urban lives we study, and of the peregrinations which lead both the ethnographer and the local actor to construct their landscapes and world views.

"The middle of Spain"

Within Spain, Madrid holds a- quite literally- outstanding position. As Spain's largest city, both in terms of population and GDP, it defies the country's tendency to locate major urban centres on, or near, a coastal advantage. The location of the city is as often determined by the presence of a river- in this case, the Manzanares, which stretches for a mere 83 kilometers between the neighbouring Guadarrama mountain range and the Jarama river to the South. Madrid's urbanisation has not, however, grown to include this small, canaled river as its centre. Rather, the Manzanares draws an arc to the south east of the *centro,* flanked predominantly by new parks and more residential areas. During my time in Madrid, I became aware of a sort of running joke around the city's main waterway, with locals and foreign residents alike likening it to a puddle, a leak, or a tap left running. One interviewee, a British expatriate of many years and local blogger, even told me a story of a famous French author (he forgot who exactly), had famously declined water offered at a bar *terraza*, flippantly telling the waiter: 'your river needs it more than I do'. My searches could not locate a reliable source for his anecdote.

Madrid's disobedience to the urban rule of central waterways as seen in Paris, London, or Seville, forces a first re-evaluation of 'centre' for the town. As far as centrality is concerned, Madrid in fact offers a number of concentric circles. It sits in the very middle of the country's landmass; its extended suburbs and surrounding villages make up its own

comunidad autonoma or unit of local government; the limits of the *comunidad* coincide with those of the lower level of administration (the *provincia*); and in the centre of this at last is the city or *municipalidad* of Madrid proper. The city acts as a centre for several strata of power and governance; it houses, in the lavish Cortes ('courts') district, national bodies of government such as the Congreso de los Diputados and of course the Palacio Real, official residence of royal family. The Puerta del Sol houses the Casa de Correos which, though its name suggests a role in the postal service, is the administrative centre for the Comunidad Autonoma. Further west in Cibeles, the old Palacio de las Comunicaciones (coincidentally, another building plucked from a past in postal and communications services) houses the equivalent of Madrid's town hall, seat of the *Ayuntamiento*. Walk a few hundred meters up the hill from its roundabout, and you are struck again by grandeur in the shape of the Banco de España, the national central bank of Spain. While much of Madrid's actual financial clout is located further north in the new Chamartín neighbourhood (home to Madrid's four sky scrapers), this nineteenth-century edifice serves as a local reminder of the city's dominance over national finance, and as my participants frequently mentioned while passing it, over the pockets of the working masses who rush beneath it on their way to work or play.

The urban landscape is punctuated by grand physical grand markers of the many layers of governance which Madrid encompasses. The locations I have used as examples here stand in architectural grandeur, drawing touristic attention and making up the more striking landmarks of any Madrileño postcard. They appear frequently as scenes and subjects throughout this thesis, as their symbolic roles of power and governance are negotiated and contested by local actors of discontent.

Commercial centres, spaces of socialisation

As with any major city, Madrid contains several major commercial areas and arteries where mostly chain retailers converge to make the most of the dense footfall. The principal, and most famous, such road is the Gran Via, arching through the city centre between the Cortes and the western Plaza de España and concentrating what local businesses promote as *el pequeño Broadway de Madrid* ('Madrid's little Broadway'). But

while this is the best known, it is not always the most popular with locals, and unlike smaller cities, commercial streets are multiple. Even Gran Via, once it changes its name at Plaza de España, becomes another smaller version of itself, repeating all its chain restaurants and international clothing companies along the Calle Princessa, all the way out to Moncloa at the westerly edge of town. These same businesses (and occasional independent stores) occur in sequence all across the city. Large businesses attracting other large businesses, one often has the impression that all the major roadways are a familiar sequence of Spain's own Mango, Zara and Pull &Bear stores, punctuated by every international store, fast food, and coffee chains that seem to make up our twenty-first century Western landscapes. More detail on the economic development and globalisation of Spanish businesses will be provided in the historic review in chapter 3.

Inhabitants of the city relate to their environment in commercial terms, with consumption making up a part of social and public life in the city. It is insufficient, however, to conflate commercial activity with spaces of socialisation; with globalisation creeping over the shopping high streets, Madrid retains endless pockets where the type of socialisation cited in earlier, rural ethnographies of Spain continue to thrive. These include a lively bar culture, with *terrazas* full and tapas eaten in crowded popular locations. These are not, as in some smaller cities, carried out exclusively within the commercial centres where prices have often inflated reflecting tourist presence. Spaces of socialisation, broadly, centre around smaller squares or streets scattered across the city. In the spring and summer of each year, these smaller-scale communities each host their own *fiestas de barrio*, reflecting historic rural traditions of the region, in which members of a neighbourhood are invited to participate in street eating, drinking and children's activities. While Madrileños might often meet in large commercial centres for leisure activities, socialisation as belonging is heavily focused on small-scale barrios and the consumption that takes place in them.

Concluding remarks: placing importance

Administratively, it is not so hard to cordon off the centres of the city. Institutional power presides over the landscape with the opulent conspicuousness expected in Western Europe. But this is only one step towards solving the riddles of place found in European capitals. Approaching Madrid as a field site forces one to consider the reach of such centres, and their spatial asymmetry within the urban hearts and pockets that actors evolve in. As Ingold (1993: 156) has remarked, 'while places have centres, they may not have boundaries'. To grapple with the multiplicity of sites within Madrid as a field, I reflect throughout this thesis on the meaning of physical space and of the place of holism in ethnography today.

As evidenced throughout the ethnography in this thesis, *Madrileños'* acts of contestation and discontent with the power structures they live in are not limited to the city's tangible seats of institutional power. Acts and discourses of discontent are articulated in everyday contexts, which have taken the ethnographer all over the city and have still left much of it undiscovered. When conducting an anthropological study of everyday resistance and resignation in the wake of financial crisis, I have found occurrences of both across the rich fabric of dense urban life that is Madrid. Each space that I have encountered is reviewed, throughout chapters and vignettes, in its socio-economic, geographic and semiotic rhizomes of meaning; I have sought to provide here only a contextual overview of the cityscape in which the data was collected. A cursory reading of the section will impress upon the reader a repeated concern with 'centres' and 'centrality'. That is because the capital city as a field site forces us to first consider it as a national seat of power. But to unpack the empirical relevance of the city's spaces, as experienced by its inhabitants, is to rethink the importance of 'place' in autochthonous terms.

3. Methodological considerations of Urban Ethnography

As is the case with most early-career research, the ethnographic project of studying resistance and livelihoods in a capital city was heavily shaped with concerns of how best to integrate as a researcher; how to give accurate voice to the clamour and contestation of a city of millions, and, overall, a certain nervousness at adequately representing social realities in the vast mass of the western city. These are far from new or original concerns- since the advent of the urban field, as pioneered in the industrial behemoth of 1920s Chicago (Duneier, Kasinitz and Murphy, 2014), ethnographic methods have sought to come to terms with the challenges of the city. As the twentieth century saw the explosion of the urban way of life, any claim to meaningful anthropology 'at home' would have to adapt to the measure of the metropolis. With traditional ethnographic methods 'inadequate for dealing with the complexity of modern cities' (Low, in Nonini, 2014), social scientists have rethought cities in terms of flows and of space, which has become 'an analytic tool that complements traditional ethnography' (ibid).

The issues of urban ethnography have become commonplace and widely discussed in the discipline, but have not ceased to pose new challenges. The anthropological concern with 'place' is foundational; even within the discourse of the discipline today, spatial semantics (of 'there' rather than 'here', of 'the field', 'the site', 'being on the ground') retain some subliminal clout. Much of our concern with presenting accurate 'social realities' stem from a concern with autochthony in a given place- with finding the 'real villagers', in Strathern's sense (1981).

In this section, I present a framework for the methodological considerations of urban fieldwork in Madrid following three defining axes: density, diversity, and anonymity. Each is considered in turn along with the methodological challenges, and sometimes advantages, that it presents.

Density

Madrid *municipalidad*, within the city limits, had a population density of approximately 5,350 inhabitants per square kilometer[3] in 2017. As is the case in the Chicago that Parks describes in the 1920s, its growth was rapid and driven by industrialisation across the twentieth century. The growth of the urban population contributed to a higher specialisation of services and, in turn, a higher sophistication in Western cities by the end of the industrial revolution (as Durkheim remarks in his early sociological approach, 1997:206). My field, as a capital city, certainly confirms Durhkeim's argument correlating size with "sophistication". The concentration of political, economic, cultural and educational institutions in Madrid makes it a fertile ground for new citizen engagement and for the inception of new forms of protest. The presence, in 2011, of a technologically literate community of students and professionals is in great part what gave the 15M its unprecedented reach. While the protest movements that year saw ramifications across cities and towns of all sizes, the densely populated *millionarias* of Madrid and Barcelona are most evocative of new urban solidarity.

In order to approach populations of this size, ethnographers 'often think of communities geographically (....), using 'community' and 'neighbourhood' almost synonymously' (Duneier, Kasinitz and Murphy, 2014: 13). I have not, in this thesis, sought to carry out a bounded neighbourhood ethnography. While I appreciate the potential benefits of such approaches, I must argue towards their limitations in understanding the impact and limits of political resistance. Modern western cities do not differ so drastically from their rural counterparts in individual networks; urban populations, though more frequently displaced and experiencing space in unbounded terms, continue to evolve into smaller scale groupings than simply the city itself. Where I find quarrel with neighbourhood ethnographies, however, is that membership in these smaller groups- neighbourhoods, associations, clubs, bars, professions- is always partial and overlapping. In urban contexts where 'space has become an analytic tool' (Low, 2014), relations between field and method must be carefully tailored to the research question at hand. Candea has observed

3 http://www.madrid.org/iestadis/fijas/estructu/demograficas/padron/m98z1_1.htm

that, while multi-sited and unbounded ethnographies have brought just challenge to the rigidity of traditional ethnography, self-imposed boundaries and 'arbitrary' limitations of space bring new perspective on 'holism' (Candea, 2007). Concerns with holism and accuracy have formed a great part of my ethnographic research, and neighbourhoods are by no means absent from it. I shall consider the possible choice of neighbourhood ethnography, and its shortcomings, by way of an argument towards unbounded thematic ethnography.

A neighbourhood ethnography within my research project might have been set up in Lavapies, a central but culturally diverse *barrio* south of Puerta del Sol. Lavapies is densely populated and hilly- the entire neighbourhood seems to tumble down from the central Calle Atocha in a steep web of narrow historic streets. The population is the most diverse of any central area, with south east Asian businesses abundant and Sub-Saharan French spoken on most corners. Historically (and up until the 1990s), the area suffered great poverty despite its central location, and many of the buildings still follow an architectural design known as the 'coralla'. These apartment buildings, usually three or four stories high, set numerous flats around a central shared courtyard and access is provided by shared balconies. The design would have originally benefitted those needing to share resources and amenities. The area has recently turned the cusp of gentrification, with rent well beyond the budget of most of the young professionals I interviewed (at about 800-900 euros a month for a one-bedroom apartment in 2017) and flats in the original *corralas* have become sought-after. Most of new business is now geared towards entertaining the '*modernos*' (read: artistic, fashionable young professionals), creating socio-economic juxtapositions between the established immigrant population and the arrival of culture-seekers and madrileños moving into the barrio for the first time.

Activism in Lavapies offers interesting viewpoints on political resistance; since gentrification is a recent development, much of the area is still home to marginal (and illegal) practices. Indeed, I have gathered data on perceptions of the state and of the police from Lavapies' walls and its people. But I am concerned that, had I endeavoured to produce such a voluntarily spatially bounded account of resistance in Madrid, I should

have missed some of the quieter nuances. My mobility across spaces and communities lead me to consider silences alongside chants and, ultimately, lead to my conclusions on socio-historic fissure as an impediment to effective protest. My grappling with my field site as a whole, a mess of obvious and hidden connections, lead to an exploration of the repeated themes that make up the meanings and manifestations of protest across the city.

I must also admit to some inherent reticence on my behalf to engage in an urban translation of traditional 'village' ethnography. Spain's place in twentieth-century ethnography bears a broad focus on its rural life (Collier, 1997, in Andalusia; Douglass, 1975, in Galicia; Gilmore, 1987, 1998, also in Andalusia). Faced with a research topic of Madrid's role in creating and promoting unprecedented urban protests, and the key role that new technologies of communication played, I considered the neighbourhood-field to present risks of immobilising, or romanticising (Theodossopoulos, 2014a), *Madrileño* resistant communities. Having seen the ethnographic potential of following threads of meaning over online and actual spaces, I must agree with Marilyn Strathern that, in the study of resistance and its failures, 'the village ethnography as a holistic, integrated account, (...) a microcosm of a broader, macrocosmic society (...) has ceased to convince' (Strathern, 2004, 9).

In short, the density of Madrid can be expressed both in terms of population and in terms of meaning. As I first approached the capital city in the early days and months of research, much effort was spent on trying to dissociate prior knowledge of the city- acquired through academic books, popular culture and even hinging on pure reputation- from what data I could garner through first-hand observation. In less densely populated settings, the ethnographer can s perhaps seek to draw local truth from consensus- in the modern western metropolis, the task forces us to regard the multiple as inevitable. This can be considered in relation to the turn to post-modern logic, as I discuss in the following section.

None of the above are isolated revelations- as anthropology has shifted its focus to include western urban societies, so have ethnographers struggled with what it means to 'know' our subjects in a context in which the foreign is painted in less binary terms. Who are 'the

natives', as Strathern asked of her village in Essex (1981)? What community exists when spatial proximity does not reflect social relations? How do we 'bind' our field site, or reversely, navigate the implications of trying to write true ethnography of an unbounded subject? In the city, co-living, as in living next to, above and below one another, does not mirror the social fabric sought out by smaller scale ethnographies- this dissociation of shared space from necessarily shared social worlds leads to partial involvement in groups. Political resistance creates such partial involvement, and as such must be treated as its own thematic 'field site', though it does not map consistently onto physical spaces.

Diversity and ethnographic compromise

While the thematic approach- chasing themes of resistance, collective representations of power and questions of social justice and memory around unbounded physical spaces- allows this research to grapple with the size and density of Madrid as a field site, the diversity of the city must also be considered as a test to knowing social realities on the ground.

No matter how open-ended the research setting, eighteen months of immersive fieldwork also necessarily implies daily life- daily involvement in one's own area, frequenting businesses, making and falling out with friends, supporting teams, lamenting road works. Life within her barrio can provide the ethnographer with a cogent self-belief that she is in the heart of city-life, and that life across the city must be as she experiences it in her setting. But the peregrinations of the unbounded field lead us to regularly realise that all around us are unknown, sometimes unexpected neighbourhoods that are independent from, and often quite uninterested in, the one we have tamed as our own. In these occurrences, I am put in mind of a sort of ethnographer's 'Fourth Freudian Wound', the realisation that our centres are not central, that we must constantly negotiate our position in them, and our obligation to continually review our own take on holism.

It is nothing new to describe the modern city as diverse. Ever since the industrial revolution led to the explosion of urban life, cities have been made up of multitudes partaking in their own communities (Parks, 1984 (1925)). These communities can not be considered as discrete entities, since one may belong to several in turn over time

(neighbourhoods, student groups, professions, sports supporters, families...) and to many different ones at any given time. Political activism, I argue, creates communities of its own. These are shaped by shared discourses, mutually recognisable aesthetics (such as carrying a certain flag as a keychain, reading a certain newspaper or using a lighter with a certain football team's colours) and occasionally participation in shared public spaces (from engaging in protests to frequenting certain bars or cafes). Such shared imagery and symbolic content allows a community of politically discontented individuals, with varying levels of involvement, to exist and be visible across the diverse spaces of the city, and to recognise one another as they go.

Candea, in a village ethnography of another Mediterranean setting (Corsica), justly advises that that while looking upon our field sites we ask not whether places do in fact operate as 'a whole', but rather why we thought that they would in the first place (2010, 24-27). Such an argument fits aptly into the study of political resistance in a large urban context- why consider resistant citizens to be a coherent group, if not for the convenience of studying the topic from an bounded-community perspective? Questioning the operative 'holism' of my research topic lead me to consider Lyotard's remarks on the advent of post-modern thinking in the social sciences. His argument is that the post-modern refutation of a single, knowable truth comes as a reaction to the Western enlightenment rational ideal. Post-modernism is 'the teleological reaction to the modern and to the lived experience of a linear past'; it is, in the teleological argument, 'a nostalgic reaction to the whole and the one' (Lyotard, 1984). I mention Lyotard's arguments here since they help shed light on Candea's question of the subjacent imperative of fields operating as 'wholes'. If post-modern doubt is born of a nostalgia for the whole and the one, then Angé and Berliner (2014) are accurate in their consideration of anthropology as a discipline deeply shaped by nostalgia. The search for logical and discrete entities that can inform us on the operating of larger wholes (Strathern, 2004) is in itself a form of disciplinary nostalgia to which the diverse urban field site poses threat. But we cannot satisfy ourselves with a post-modern dismissal of any knowable reality, the extension of which collapses any possibility of studying the modern, multiple and interconnected world. Rather, we must write our urban ethnographies, even if they are as this one set thematically rather than

spatially, within some locus of reality (be it physical or online). Even if I do not bind Madrid as a field site, I still operate data collection in and around the geographic area of the city; and though its spaces are heterogeneous, the gathering of data suggests the choice of one space or event over another at a given moment. Ethnography can never fully be dissociated from space, and when its space is marred by modern diversity, we must review the analysis of our findings in light of their inherent limitations.

To illustrate briefly this point, let me turn to an ethnographic vignette which I consider in one of my chapters. In November 2017, a certain subset of *Madrileños* were engaged in the lesser-advertised commemoration of the anniversary of the death of the Generalísimo Francisco Franco, key instigator of the 1936 coup against the second republic and ensuing dictator until his death from natural causes in 1975. Since my focus had by this point shifted heavily to the role of commemoration and reconciliation after the Civil War, I took the opportunity to gather rarer data on public celebrations of the contested leader. This led me out of Madrid, into the small town of El Escorial set high in the mountains to the west. Outside again of this town is the controversial monastery and resting place of the Generalísimo, built during his reign and known collectively as the *Valle de los Caídos* (Valley of the Fallen). Here I attended a mass in Latin, and engaged in some of my more daunting ethnographic endeavours as I watched generations gather to the altar to pay homage to defeater of the 'leftists' of the Republic. I left the site convinced that I had found a beating heart of the often underground remaining *Franquistas* in Madrid. Upon returning to my apartment in the centre of town, I discussed what I had witnessed with some customers at my local cafe. While they reacted enthusiastically to the mention of the Valle, one informant, a local journalist, seemed astonished at my outing. 'But you missed everything!', he said to me incredulously. 'I felt sure you would have been there- at Plaza de España! I knew you study these things so I felt sure you must have been there too- there was a huge blow out between a bunch of Franquistas and, well, everyone else. The police came, they were throwing things- it was mad. I can't believe you missed it'. He later sent me the article he himself had published on the events in central Madrid, hoping to fill in the gaps I would end up writing into my account of that year's commemoration.

The reason I quote this anecdote here is to illustrate the necessary incompleteness that will befall an ethnography, in any site the size of which enables different readings of the same meaningful moment simultaneously. When observations of a theme are necessarily gathered in a given place, I must question throughout my analysis whether I we were looking in the right place at the right second, taking the right notes, and allow for all that occurs that we do not witness. As anthropology accepts these limitations instead of seeking holism, we escape the 'creeping ubiquity of non-place' (Coleman and Collins, 2006) and can uncover meaningful data in messy ethnographic situations. I hope that my methodology of urban resistance succeeds in uncovering the key ideological, socio-historical and societal tropes that hinder the creativity and impact of protest in Madrid.

Wealth in Diversity

As the Chicago school remarked early on, 'urban expansion and the sudden diversification of populations [leads to] a mingling of people who never fully comprehend one another' (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 2012: 26). This early observation of the impact of urban growth on social fabric is picked up once again by Candea (2010), who comments on 'the thinness of people's ethnographies of each other'. The capital of Spain offers scope on both these remarks, where an increasingly diverse population multiplies local perspectives, opening up an opportunity to analyse citizen's appraisal of themselves and of one another as data. With the growth of the city, so too have grown the services, facilities, schools and leisure spaces that attract long and short-term migrants to Madrid. The ensuing diversity has, as in any city, put the concept of autochthony to the test; the scale of the city hinders such categorisations as kinship (family names may re-occur and become common across the city, but frequently, due to Spain's colonial past, these can be the surname of a migrant from Latin America. Strathern's (1981) tracing of names and lineages would find a far less evident web under such patronymic mingling). Degrees of autochthony are assigned to one's self and to others through repeated semantics, several of which I discuss further in this thesis. Stewart's (2012) popular history of Madrid cites the 'real' Madrileños, able to trace their place in the city back over generations, as self-

declared *hijos de Madrid* ('sons/daughters of Madrid'). I have found, through my own experience of the city, that the term *gatos* is often preferred to lay claim to autochthony. The word literally means 'cats', and is taken up across the country to designate the capital's inhabitants; the origin of the sobriquet was traced back for me to the guerrilla spirit of the city during Napoleonic campaigns of the Nineteenth Century, where the discrepancy between Madrileño weaponry and their losses suggested a feline number of lives. I develop these local discourses further in chapter 3. The category of the *gatos* ranks among with many others: Spanish migrants claiming regional identities, immigrants from Spanish-speaking colonies, incomers from the surrounding villages of Madrid province, and *guiris* (lifestyle migrants from Northern Europe and the United States), to name a few. These collectives, and the semantics they engender, serve to cement one's relation to the city and to rapidly make sense of the diversity of inhabitants that it houses. Participants in turn use these relationships to lay claim to, or dispute, legitimacy in terms of governance or resistance. Questions of autochthony, therefore, are not wiped out by the growth and diversity of the city; and we must endeavour to know them as they are constructed and negotiated on the ground, rather than how they are sought out by the ethnographic gaze.

Frequently throughout this project, participants have mobilised discourses of belonging and integration in the city both in terms of time and of space. The temporal substantiation of 'localness' is at the core of my research question: how do participants mobilise collective memory as a pre-existing template to resistance? The societal divisions born of temporal belonging, focused on the binary of victor and vanquished established during the Civil War, have been presented in my introduction. The size and diversity of Madrid make them accessible to the ethnographic eye in ways that perhaps could not be achieved in smaller urban settings, within the time constraints of the project.

Within the discourses of political resistance that inform this research, 'diversity' has been used as a banner-term for the defense of human rights, by groups seeking to re-cast the right to Spain's soil and services in terms of global human rights. During the fieldwork years of 2016 and 2017, a vast migrant crisis (primarily caused by conflict in the middle east- Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore, 2016) added new fuel to the fiery contestation of

state-led austerity and its disregard for rights to basic services. In this context, resistance to austerity was no longer cast only in terms of the suffering of the Spanish working and middle class (Narotzky and Besnier, 2014); the experience of local suffering was expanded in grassroots discourse to focus upon a crisis of global dimensions. The manner in which a global migrant crisis affected (albeit temporarily) local discourses of discontent once again sets the city within a complex web of influences, reaching well beyond the nation state (Feldman, 2005). Even as one cannot address one neighbourhood in isolation from another and hope for a complete representation of the dynamics at play in remembering and resisting, it is equally impossible to ascribe a spatial delimitation around the city or even the nation. Modern day urban ethnography must, in the era of digital communication, apply itself to an understanding of space as flows (Low, in Nonini, 2014) which may destabilise our disciplinary search for embeddedness (Falzon, 2012). Where embeddedness is to be sought out, in the city, is in discourses that make up local constructions of space: the 'enculturation of space by [its] people' (Cohen and Fukui, 1993). This approach highlights urban space as it is creatively shaped and understood by local actors; in Madrid, for instance, participants might categorise a neighbourhood or a business as *castizo*, which is the pure or genuine characteristic of a place. A business such as the *bar de toda la vida*, the local cafes which remain unchanged in the urban landscape over generations, are *castizo*; one such business in my neighbourhood, El Maño on the bustling Calle de la Palma, saw its owner die as my fieldwork was drawing to a close in 2018. Reactions across the area to the passing of this cafe manager went beyond simple sympathies, and demonstrated a concern for the loss of Madrileño character that may ensue in the gentrified neighbourhood. In this and other ways, local actors construct categories of authenticity according to their own criteria. As Cohen and Fukui argue, the city is best viewed as imbued with culture by its residents, rather than in a top-down dynamic that would impose its structural power upon them.

Interestingly, this urban phenomenon is mirrored in ways that the authors could not have anticipated in 1993; today, one could in parallel speak of the 'enculturation of information by the people, in a dynamic approach to media-scapes'. By this I mean the manner in which self-publication and peer-to-peer sharing of online content shapes the media that

one is exposed to, much in the same way that grassroots discourses of *castizo* shape one's view of what is authentic Madrileño culture. The shaping of people's media-scapes in new social media is central to this thesis's review of the impact of new digital communications on urban resistance.

In conclusion, the diversity of Madrid increases the researcher's opportunity to study people's impact on their lived environment; this impact is essential to understanding efforts toward social change. From the vast mobilisation of 2011 to the hardened undercurrents of political activists, the city provides a stage upon which resistance and discontent are operated at a variety of scales, from the literal to the latent.

Considering Anonymity

Anthropology's primary consideration of 'anonymity' has to do with that of our participants, and the ethical treatment of the data gathered in their company. The etymology, *anunemia,* 'without a name' (Ponesse, 2014), carries ontological suppositions on the equivalence of naming and knowing. I address these themes in subsection V: Ethics. Here, I wish to take a digression from these primary concerns and consider anonymity, as it is experienced both by researcher and participants, as a useful tool resulting from the urban landscape.

On the subject of his ethnographic study of a city block in Washington D.C. in 1969, Hannerz notes that the researcher 'could seldom be inconspicuous' in his carrying out of participant observation (Hannerz, 2004). The noticeable presence of an anthropological observer frequently impacts upon his surroundings, despite reflexive concern with 'letting events take the course they might have without me' (ibid). This reflects an on-going tension in the use of qualitative methods- that the very presence and lens of the researcher necessarily impacts the environment which she is observing. To some extent, these concerns are greatly reduced by the anonymity provided by a capital city context. Upon entering the private sphere of clubs and associations, of course, the ethnographer's presence becomes informed and visible to participants (unless research is operated

covertly, which was seldom the case in this project and has been discussed in every instance in which it was); but the city provides public spaces of social life the scale of which provides ease of access and immersion (Berg and Sigona, 2013). In the case of my research in Madrid, I found that neither my race, age, gender, sartorial habits, or indeed nationality would impact the data which was being gathered in public spaces. In instances when I was overtly participating rather than publicly observing, the three traits that most impacted participants reaction to me turned out to be my foreignness (due, inevitably, to my French accent in Spanish), my gender, and my position as a social scientist once this was divulged. I discuss these factors in the following subsections (IV: Critical Review of Research Methods and V: Ethics). Nevertheless, I never experienced the attention that ethnographers attract when carrying out fieldwork in smaller settings or fields where their age, gender or race makes them immediately noticeable ('the presence of the researcher seldom goes unnoticed by denizens of a community': Van den Hoonaard, 2003: 141). Public spaces of protest and interaction in Madrid are sites of such activity that the presence of a young, white, middle-class female does not draw attention.

As such, I consider the urban field site to have provided- in many instances- a level of anonymity which allows social events and interactions to be observed unperturbed. With participants less likely to modify behaviours due to researcher presence, one level of possible misrepresentation is removed.

Concluding Remarks on Urban Ethnography

Anthropology's shift to focus on western urban settings has played a key role in the advent of 'anthropology at home' (Falzon, 2009)- immersed in these settings, we participate and observe within fields defined by modern complexity (Giddens, 1991). Broadly speaking, this shift has led to what Ulf Hannerz has termed 'studying sideways, (...) focusing ethnographic curiosity on people with practices not unlike our own' (in Coleman and Collins, 2006; also Hannerz, 1969). The author extends this thought to include what I have found to be a central concept to my methodology: that we do not simply study *sideways* (as opposed to studying 'up' or 'down', in more problematic semantics reflecting global development)- but that we use urban complexity as a tool to study *through*, tracing

networks of meaning rather than seeking out meaning in a delimited field. Ethnography in the city takes us a step further from anthropology's earliest concern with the local; Evans-Pritchard's maps, opening his monograph by setting the focus closer and closer to the geographic location of the Nuer, can no longer be justified as defensible practice of making sense of the local. In the complex webs of meaning that are acted out daily across the city of Madrid, to zoom is to truncate the flows of which Low (2014) speaks. By acknowledging this interconnectedness, I have had to square up to the risk that my ethnography will necessarily be incomplete, inasmuch as every web could not be followed, and that for all data that I analyse, a wealth went unseen; the approach has served to avoid the romanticising or homogenising of the Mediterranean which had proven tempting to classic ethnographies of Spain (Herzfeld, 1984, 1985; Collier, 1997).

I must acknowledge a challenge of the urban field site over the choice of fieldwork in a village or bounded neighbourhood; the anonymity that benefitted my research in Madrid lead me to anxious considerations of the very validity of my fieldwork experience. I struggled with questions of integration: would I ever become folded into the social fabric of such a city, and would my representations be accurate or merely superficial misinterpretations? Frequently, during research visits to smaller towns in the province, I felt that their scale would have yielded a clearer emic perspective. I was driven to pursue in my original field site despite these challenges by the wealth of activity and activism that initially singled it out; the formidable scale of the city providing a profusion of unexpected voices and discourses which turned my research to unexpected directions and, ultimately, allowed the central questions of socio-historic fracture and resistance to emerge.

4. Critical Review of Research Methods

After considering the epistemological implications of Madrid as a field site, I shall now develop in closer detail the concrete methodological choices made during the data-

gathering phase of this project, from January 2016 to December 2017. I conduct, throughout this section, a retrospective critical analysis of these methods; by this I mean that each method is considered in its conception/planning stages, in its field execution, and retrospectively evaluated in its successes and shortcomings. The methods are approached organically in the order of their occurrence in the field: access and sampling, participant observation in the field, interviews and conversations, visual data, online ethnography, and the ethnography of 'secondary sources'.

Access and Sampling

My first contact with Madrid was not as a field site, but as a tourist in my early twenties. I had the somewhat common experience of seasonal trips to coastal Spain in my childhood, and a working knowledge of how to get around Barcelona after a number of weekends spent there as an undergraduate. Madrid, nestled in the middle of the country, was only the object of its own visit in 2010. Of this trip I retain the ordinary impressions of weekend tourism: hiding from the heat along the edges of the Puerta del Sol, eating and drinking in all the obvious areas of the centre, getting pickpocketed in the metro, and wondering at the chaotic layout of Lavapies's streets. When, five years later, the opportunity arose to conduct research in Madrid as part of a PhD on the impact of economic crisis on Southern Europe, the field did not therefore ring as distant and unknown. Indeed I must acknowledge that much of my pre-fieldwork research planning was inevitably shaped by the lens I had retained from my first contact with the city (Galani-Moutafi: 2000); the early months of fieldwork, carried out in the winter of 2015-2016, proved this to have fallen foul to romantic idealisation.

In January of 2016, I moved to Madrid, living first with a friend of a friend in the sleepy suburb of Pueblo Nuevo, but quickly moving into the city centre which, though it stretched the budget assigned to this fieldwork, seemed necessary if I was to get within hearing distance of the pulse of activism in the city. Unlike many projects which I had read of or seen my peers participate in over the years, my fieldwork did not stem from 'already existing membership in a social group, or existing access to particular spaces'

(Crang and Cook, 2007). While I did benefit greatly from the early introduction- to my first host in Madrid, from a colleague- the city required a ground-zero discovery and building of social networks. In short, I knew absolutely nobody in the field that I had elected to study.

I had planned to access activist groups through their online portals and through public protest. This form of access proved useful in identifying members of a hardened, on-going activist core in the city; participants like Sonia, Alicia, Daniel, Sergio, whose input was crucial to chapters on activism and resistance in Madrid, were contacted through the social media pages of activist plateaux. My original project had a specific focus on the '15M', the social movement of May 15th 2011 which engulfed the Puerta del Sol in Europe's first 'Occupy' movement; early investigation on social media (primarily Facebook and Twitter, the most frequently used during the protest) showed that while most 15M pages had dwindled significantly in their activity, a network of active sites did emerge. Contacting potential participants through these platforms proved crucial to my early-days research in the city; the accessibility provided by public, online profiles enabled a good deal of outreach into a community which, I was finding, was not immediately visible in the city landscape. It also provided an inherent form of consent, with any respondent informed of the project in written form.

I had imagined- somewhat idealistically- that Madrid activists would have physically accessible headquarters into which I could eventually gain entry. As this thesis analyses throughout, resistant spheres in Madrid do not operate in such identifiable and discrete entities. I was able to frequent cafes which were recommended as hubs of activism; I of course attended public protests that were advertised in social media; and eventually I was able to attend meetings of activist organisations. But these occasional meetings- occurring sometimes weekly, sometimes monthly, sometimes just once with little follow up- did not provide the type of continual access I could recognise as 'participant observation'; I was immersed only momentarily. As I became closer with a number of my informants, I found that they too only engaged with the activist platforms during certain events. My first perceived problem of access and immersion had uncovered an 'armchair' misconception: that activists in the city must live in permanent states of resistant activity.

As far as sampling was concerned, 'snowball sampling' (Blaikie, 2007) prove to be an effective way of following Hannerz's (1969) invitation to 'study through', to follow networks. I relied heavily, in early days, in a bartender, Patricia, who shared cigarettes with me outside on mornings where I would go to her cafe to write up notes and generally eavesdrop. As an impromptu gate-keeper (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), she introduced me to a number of patrons of the cafe (which is well known in Lavapies for its political activism, selling books, hosting events and providing a selection of printouts of activist journals, alongside the national newspapers); a number of these introductions went no further than the cafe, but several did lead to repeat interviews and sometimes friendships. With these contacts, snowball sampling proved fruitful, as one participant could usually be relied upon to provide access to at least two more. Meeting my contacts in group settings was an effective manner to multiply participants quickly.

My concern with this method of sampling was that it was inherently limiting the scope of the data I was gathering on activism- while Patricia, informed of my project, pointed me in the direction of people she considered to be of interest to me, I was bound to some extent to her construction of what was relevant to a study of activism. Similarly, by allowing 'snowballing' to occur from my initial contacts, I created a landscape of participants for myself that touched only upon the activists circled that endured from the 2011 wave (and, in the case of most participants, predated it); I was disregarding the vast majority of the 15M crowd, who had retired from the streets and from their spontaneous experience of public activism. I may have collected an acceptable sample of self-professed *activistas* and *rojos* ('reds', a defiant self-categorisation packed with the global history of the late Twentieth Century), but this would prove insufficient to 'provide an adequate explanation for the structures and processes' that had allowed the 15M to dwindle back to an activist core (Mullings, 1999: 338).

I continued to frequent Patricia's cafe, to use social media as an outreach system for the contacting of new participants, and to meet regularly with some of my activist participants as our relationships blurred the lines between researcher, informant and friend (Gay-y-Blasco and de la Cruz, 2012). My interview sample of participants who self-qualified as

active in political resistance grew to include over twenty in depth interviews; about a third of these participants took part in repeat interviews over the months of fieldwork. In addition to this, I broadened my participant base to include any denizens of the city who, informed of the project, expressed an interest in discussing their experience of protest in Madrid, of the politic of the city, of social memory. Much of this interview data did not appear immediately relevant, and I thought originally that I might use it only to improve my interview Spanish and contribute to my immersion in the city. Ultimately, the interviews with these 'lay-people' (in terms of activism) had as much impact as my activist core on the shaping of the data; they continually repeated themes which I had originally disregarded or not noticed, such as the disillusionment with political resistance which, of course, was not frequently addressed by activists themselves.

The access and sampling in this project grew, therefore, from a structured plan to include a number of chance encounters and 'accidental ethnography' (Fujii, 2015). Not all the data gathered ended up being used in this project; in the interest of presenting data in an accurate, coherent way which would contribute to new analysis of protest, I resisted the desire to explore and dissect every theme that arose. The resulting theses hones in on themes that were repeated frequently enough to be considered relevant to the study of protest, of its spontaneity and its failures, and of the role of collective memory.

Participating, Observing

The study of political resistance necessarily involved ethnographic engagement with urban protests. As mentioned previously, 2011 marked a year of extraordinary mobilisation in Madrid which, by the end of that summer, had dwindled significantly. Nevertheless, 2016 and 2017 saw a relative wealth of public protest in the form of *concentraciones* (immobile protests in a set location) and marches within which I gathered data on public performances of discontent and solidarity. Bernard (1994) describes participant observation as an immersive technique of data gathering, by which the ethnographer 'establishes rapport in a community so that people go about their business as usual'. This has become a cornerstone of qualitative anthropological methods,

by which insider perspectives are sought. A project which seeks to unpack the impact and failures of mass political protest in a city must engage with such methods, as the subtleties of actors' local experience cannot be accessed reliably by quantitative survey alone. The very design of a quantitative methodology- of set questionnaires and surveys- would have prevented local meaning and understanding of discontent from emerging from grassroots discourse.

Participant observation is often presented as a spectrum (Blaikie, 2007) in which the researcher navigates her involvement in the events she seeks to analyse. In this research, the pure observation end of the spectrum was best suited to research in large protests and marches, where photography, recording and the very presence of the researcher were not noticeable to the point of impacting the proceedings. Participation crept in when collecting data in smaller settings, such as being present at the planning stages of a memorial for the victims of Franco's regime, where I might have to demonstrate agreement or be addressed by one of my informants. I approach the scale of full participation in the ethnographic episode of the *Tapia* commemoration, where my prolonged involvement with organisers led me to help in setting up a two-day commemorative event, and taking photos for the organisation. Considering this moment, which I came to see as crucial in my fieldwork, I must temper my position as 'full' participant. The emotive nature of the event, which rode the divide between political activism and private mourning for the relatives of victims, necessarily removed me from full participation as an outsider from Madrid's genealogy of suffering.

While conducting participant observation in the city, at protest-events as well as in every day life as I sought to uncover the underlying landscapes of societal division in Madrid, I felt acutely Bernard's (1988: 184) invitation to 'remove yourself from cultural immersion so as to intellectualise [my] observations'. Such removal is a prerogative of anthropologists conducting fieldwork 'at home' (Jackson, 1987), inasmuch as the context of a European city presents enough familiarity to fit the description. This reflexive process is the jumping off point for the anthropological analysis of everyday processes 'at home', reaching back to Polanyi's observation that 'I know that I know these matters, but I cannot

tell clearly what it is that I know' (1958, in Headland, Pike and Harris, 1990: 33)- an early invitation to unpack the meaning that the researcher takes for granted in familiar settings.

'Are you interviewing me yet?'

The processes of participant observation provide a context within which participants can be accessed informally (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). As a result of this informality, the interviews carried out in this fieldwork were rarely structured; rather, they 'blurred the line between interview and conversation' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 139). With the flows of the city always changing the researcher's immediate entourage, the encounter and interview (or conversation) with a participant were frequently simultaneous, and sometimes a one-time event. In the effervescence of protests, valuable insights are often shared while in motion- an encounter with a fellow participant might be so rapid that little personal data beyond age, appearance, accent and demeanour can be recorded, and so the very notion of a structured interview is a moot point. Our drive for well thought out questioning is subject to 'the contingency of outside factors' (Fassin, 2011: 26).

Interviews of a more structured nature were planned and carried out when repeat contact could be established with a participant. For this method, I resorted most frequently to what Kvale and Brinkman have termed 'life-world interviews' (2009): semi-structured conversations carried out in meaningful contexts, where the environment of the interview is as key to the outcome as the line of questioning. This lead me to interview activists in 'underground' settings like the contested cultural centre La Tabacalera, in Embajadores, or to ask participants to partake in 'mobile' ethnographic interviews around the city. Miller's (2008) ethnography of material culture and environment has been an inspiring force behind this application of the semi-structured interview.

Forgoing strict structure allows interview data to be participant-led, with subjectivities not being formatted to an established line of questioning. The purpose of leaving these everyday interviews highly unstructured is to allow content to emerge from subjective experience; subjectivity being a source of ethnographic richness, allowing us to ‘not just

observe [humans] (…), but to understand the meaning of what they do, in the context of a world of meanings that is radically foreign to us' (Bazin, 2008 in Fassin, 2011).

To mitigate the ostensible unstructured nature of such fieldwork, I turn to Bernard's remarks on recording in the field: 'the difference between field experience and fieldwork is field *notes*' (1994, my emphasis). As discussed in Section V: Ethics, the issue of recording devices raises issues of consent in crowd contexts. I have found also that, in informal contexts, the presence of a recording device tangibly alters the tone of the interview. As Adrian, one young participant who had been active in the 15M when he was 17, said during one interview where I did not have my notebook on the table, or a phone recording: 'So, what did you want me to talk about? Are you interviewing me yet?'. We had indirectly been discussing the impact that the 15M had on his high-school year for over half an hour, and the 'interview', though he did not consider it formal, had already produced usable data. In events such as this, I kept rigorous notes which were written up immediately after the encounter (often in the location once the participant had left, or on public transport) and transcribed into one of three thematic notebooks that I filled and replaced over my months and years of fieldwork: one for what I had originally considered field notes 'proper' (notes on the layout, behaviours and events of protests, interview data, and transcripts of conversations with informants), one 'field diary', where I recorded reflexive impressions on my methods and field experience, and one to record 'secondary sources': news articles, online content, advertisements which I thought relevant to my topic, or simply found curious. The handwritten notes make up the majority of my data for this thesis, alongside a number of videos and photos recorded at public events. These are shared in the thesis only inasmuch as I can guarantee the anonymity of the participants present.

Online ethnography

The advent of new forms of digital communication and social media has forced ethnographers everywhere to consider their participants' online activity alongside their

day to day lives, and sometimes even treat it as a social field in its own right. Online spaces reflect an earlier point by Cohen and Fukui (1993) on the modern city: it is a space 'enculturated' by its actors, in which they are not merely passive objects of deterministic power. To some extent (which I unpack in chapter 3, on the reach of anti-neoliberal protest in Madrid), Facebook walls are the new bathroom stalls; the possibility for (relatively) unchecked self-publication has lead to an abundance of alternative and resistant viewpoints finding voice and readership in social media. These spaces of socialisation were relatively new in 2011, when their first advent as tools of dissent occurred in Spain's 15M movement; at the moment of fieldwork, five years later, the online platforms of Facebook and Twitter were referenced and used daily by virtually every participant I encountered.

Such platforms contribute to the 'rhizomatic' nature of resistance, in the Deleuzian sense of its tangled subterranean roots (Karatzogianni and Robinson, 2009). Resistant tropes, shared instantly to known and anonymous audiences, increase the reach of actors in a way that contributed significantly to the scale of the 15M occupy movements. This 'messy diffusion' of online content (Pickerill and Kinsky 2012) renders the methodology of online ethnography newly challenging; when considering online publications (either self-authored or shared, whereby actors simply re-publish content to their own circles), the researcher must place actors within webs that outstretch their everyday social field; their performances are analysed in terms of 'a virtual audience and a virtual co-presence' (Miller, 2013)

I approach the online field of social media in this thesis, firstly, as a virtual 'gatekeeper' providing access into groups of politically active participants. The direct contact options provided through Facebook allow named participants to be contacted directly, a means by which I was able to recruit a number of participants. Social media also provides 'public' or 'group' pages, which often engage in mutual reference with one another; for instance, one post on the *Republikanos de Vallecas* (a left-wing activist page from a vast southern suburb of Madrid) page linked to *Contra la Impunidad del Franquismo* ('Against the Impunity of Francoism'), and from there, posts may reference a reading by a published activist in a bookstore in the city. Online content often references back to an event on the

physical stage of the city, and 'maps' social media activism onto physical spaces (Gerbaudo, 2012).

When online content cannot be mapped back to its physical world publishers, it can still be the object of analysis; in this case, contact between the researcher and participant are limited to the online sphere (Gajjala, 2002). This leads to questions of embeddedness which I address during my various analyses of online content; in the extent to which virtual content is disembodied, how does can we derive information from the context, subtext or irony that it presents? I consider the online field along the same spectrum as the physical field in terms of the participant-observer spectrum. Data has, at times, been treated from a casual observer stance, whereby it is perceived only in its time and place of publication (or performance). In other instances, online discourses are discussed with participants (either through the social media platform or during a physical encounter) and are unpacked further than their original published form; I consider this act of conversation to constitute a step toward 'participation' in the construction of meaning.
Considering the weight of social media in the protest landscapes that motivated this thesis, online spaces cannot be dismissed either as locus nor as lens of resistance. Javier Toret, co-founder of *Democracia Real Ya* (Real Democracy Now) notes '(we were able to) overcome media blocks with the possibility of online self-communication and organisation. (…) (this situation) is a *postmedia*, techno-political re-appropriation of tools, technologies and media of representation' (Castells, 2013: 119, original emphasis).

Conclusions

The methods discussed in this section all have the common goal of grappling with local discourses, as and where they arise across the city, providing an ethnographic investigation of grassroots discourse and understanding of crisis, solidarity, resistance and social injustice. The wide sampling of participants aims to reflect discourses not only from ongoing activist involvement, but also from a wider base of one time or occasional participants in protest since 2011. This seemingly muddled sampling serves to provide what I hope is an accurate view not only of the reach of lasting activism in Madrid, but also of its failure to translate into lasting changes in citizenship.

Throughout the thesis, I also engage with what I term 'edifiers', the producers of 'elite' discourses of resistance. This challenges the myth of the 'spontaneous' 15M, by identifying 'elites' within resistant spheres who produce online, media and live discourses which motivate and coordinate resistant content. As such, this thesis defends the ethnographic analysis of 'secondary sources', the published material that makes up citizen's political landscapes and provides them with the tropes mobilised in the moment of protest.

Similarly, this ethnography engages continually with the city of Madrid itself- sometimes as a backdrop of protest, but also unpacking the weight of the urban landscape in shaping political subjectivities. This analysis verges on auto-ethnography; it follows the visual markers of discontent and social activism as they arise across the streets and neighbourhoods, which appear to the researcher in the same space and time as they do to local actors.

5. Ethics, Power and Representation.

As with any research project conducted among living people, the study of resistance, discontent and collective memory requires a sensitive approach to research ethics. I have endeavoured continuously, throughout periods of both fieldwork and writing, to balance the ethical requirements of consent and representation with an accurate anthropological analysis of my field.

Consent in public and private spheres

A considerable amount of the fieldwork for the following chapters pertains to public spaces and performances, as is the nature of research on protest and activism. This presents an inherent challenge to the aspiration to absolute informed consent in qualitative research; 'complete informed consent is virtually impossible in a busy street or public

setting' (Payne and Payne, 2004). While I might endeavour to give each participant clear information on the research context, such information requires an act of conversation; what then of the crowds whose behaviour and performances frequently appear in this thesis, but with whom conversation was not established?

I defend the ethics of qualitative research in public spaces by invoking the scale of the city itself. The crowds of actors whom I did not formally interview cannot be identified sometimes even by me- the anonymity (see section 3 of this chapter) inherent in the urban crowd serves as its own ethical shield. While I take Payne's (2004) comments on the impossibility of absolute consent in public spaces seriously, I consider that the near impossibility that any one actor, or group of actors, could be identified from the data presented here solves the ethical qualm of consensual participation.

The anonymisation of participants has been carried out through standard processes of name changing- names were changed during the daily writing up of field notes, with a record kept of these aliases which only the researcher has access to. During the brief exposé of the project given to interview participants, each was assured that their identity would not be divulged in any published findings or the thesis itself; this was most frequently met with amused dismissal. 'Oh, you can use my name, I'm sure no one is going to come and find me!' was a typical response; nevertheless the process was adhered to throughout to conform to ASA ethics guidelines on research amongst human adults (ASA, 2012).

While gathering interview data amongst those participants I refer to as 'edifiers'- producers of widely circulated content pertaining to activism and citizenship- the issue of systematic anonymisation met a different obstacle. These participants often displayed 'differing views on the desirability of anonymity' (Crow and Wiles, 2008); being in the business of promoting online content, organising protests, publishing monographs, advising political circles, or producing documentaries, these actors saw anonymity not as an ethical protection but as a hindrance to wider publication. The matter of representing participants who are highly politicised, and capable of assuring their own representation online, can be contentious. Regarding this matter, I refer to Kirtsoglou (2004) who, on the matter of conducting ethnography amongst participants with an acute sense of their

own political representation, says that in this instance the act of ethnography can provide participants with a new outlet, and wider audience, for political performances. In the case of this thesis, the full identity of participants has been disclosed in the event that interview data is cited alongside material published under their own name.

Data gathered through online ethnography has been treated with the same anonymisation processes as data gathered with physical-space participants. The names of associations and group pages has not been changed, as I consider that the public nature of these pages (their publication on social media allows creators to limit the visibility of the content that they wish to share) provides consent through the open forum of social media. Any participation from a named individual within such groups has been anonymised and in the event that content is of a sensitive nature, slight changes to syntax (and of course, my own translation) protect the author from being identified through a search engine.

Ethics of dark anthropology

The study of the subset of topics identified by Ortner (2016) as *dark anthropology*- the 'harsh and brutal dimensions of the human experience and the structures that produce them'- requires specific ethical attention. In studying resistance in a context of financial crisis, we must unpack the experiences of the disenfranchised victims of austerity and structural violence. These narratives, throughout my fieldwork, came to highlight such themes as fuel poverty, chronic unemployment, old age isolation and mental health struggles; as the central questions of the thesis grew to include the unresolved societal fracture left by the Spanish Civil War, questions of military violence, wrongful incarceration and haphazard burials also forced a review of the ethical treatment of content. 'Continually seeking to avoid undue intrusion' (Urla and Helepololei, 2014) becomes essential in the interview treatment of sensitive and traumatic content (Brinkman, 2012), even when this pertains to previous generations. In their discussions of grandparents or great-grandparents' experiences of injustice during the 1936-1939 civil war, participants were guided by very minimal questioning in the form of unstructured

interviews, to prevent the forcing and shaping of traumatic narratives. Empirically, these themes met very little resistance in the field, with participants frequently eager that I should name their relative(s) and providing detailed family narratives of the suffering they endured.

Law and legally marginal behaviours in the field

Matters of law making and justice are at the forefront of many of the discourses analysed in this thesis. During the pilot fieldwork, carried out in the summer of 2016, protests around the city were primarily engaged with contesting the Ley Organica 4/2016, or the *Ley Mordaza* ('muzzle law'). I discuss this legal text further in chapter 3, as it is perceived as a direct state reaction to the vast social movement of 2011. Briefly, the text allows local police and the courts to impose considerable fines, and even incarceration, for some of the acts which were pivotal to the 15M: gathering outside a state building, climbing public buildings in the city (to hand banners), and recording or photographing the police in act of duty, to name a few.

It became obvious that, while this law was enforced only in given times and places- tourists photographing the mounted police that patrol the historic centre would never see their equipment confiscated or be fined several hundred euros- it had nevertheless created new tensions between state and protests, to which the ethnographer was necessarily a witness. Participants from activist circles were involved in staging acts of defiance to the law, in what they considered a defense of civil liberties to congregate, and to protest with a permit. By observing and participating amongst these groups, I bore witness to multiple instances of what, previously, had been ordinary protest, and had been shifted by the *Ley Mordaza* into illegality.

I turn briefly to Geertz's classic example of *Deep Play* (2005), which can be applied to a *Madrileño* reading in the present. Geertz tells the story of a pivotal moment in his fieldwork and access, when, caught by the Balinese police during an illegal cockfight, he decides to run with his participants rather than isolate himself in a position of legality.

Similarly, in Madrid, to endorse the behaviour of my participants 'against' the contested legal system was the most effective means of gaining access into grassroots discourses and groups. I was fortunate to never witness any actions on behalf of protesters that presented a danger to others; similarly, I did not witness illegal behaviour that sought to destroy life or property, which I certainly would have had to treat differently in my position as researcher. Legal marginality in the field must be treated sensitively to each case, and I cannot argue that my approach (to observe illegality openly, and to avoid participating in it on a case by case evaluation) be universalised. It was fortuitous of the time and location of my fieldwork that the 'illegality' of protesters' actions did not coincide with ethical or moral quandaries. For my colleagues engaged with violent protest, delinquency or radicalisation, this paragraph should no doubt become its own chapter.

By way of conclusion, I can ascertain that no part of the data presented in this thesis was begot by misleading or purposely covert means. The identity of all participants quoted has been protected conform to ASA guidelines, and in the event that they might be named, the decision to do so is discussed as cases arise. Consent has been obtained verbally from each participant; in the event that I participated in the meetings of associations, members were informed of the project by myself and by a gatekeeper.
Issues of ethics and representation of actors suffering the effects of crisis and subordination are an ongoing theme throughout the thesis, and are addressed alongside the themes and actors presented in each chapter.

4. Conclusion

This chapter on methodology goes somewhat beyond the brief of simply providing an overview of the data collection methods engaged in this thesis. Rather, it has sought to provide a framework for the approach to discourse, performance and locale in this research, as it investigates bridges between crisis ethnography and collective memory

studies. The methods engaged belong to the classical anthropological canon of participant observation, but also rely on urban ethnography, discourse analysis and popular historiography.

The presentation of Madrid locates the physical field of the research, and hopefully provides context for forthcoming arguments concerning austerity, solidarity, citizenship and subaltern voices as they emerge in the city. The qualities of Madrid as a field site make it a fertile ground for the study of urban resistance and the conflicting discourses that make up subaltern subjectivities throughout Spain; the city provides a viewpoint for the correlation of contemporary discontent and socio-historic fracture that can hopefully enlighten our understanding of injustice and reconciliation in worldwide contexts.

The operative goal of the flexible, unbound methodology defended in this chapter is to remove the ethnography of crisis from its immediate moment, which sets it as reactionary to a neoliberal world order; this approach risks ignoring parallel texts in the field which set resistance in a complex web of socio-historic subordination. The information, images and rumours that make up Madrid's landscape of resistance do not constitute a neatly bound field for the ethnographer's gaze; instead, they are best studied as electric currents, sparking and connecting where contact is made with the conductive surfaces created by the 'complicit audience'.

By not making resistance into a discrete entity of activist individuals, this thesis follows the discourses of disillusioned and 'failed' resistance, ultimately drawing conclusions on the formative and formatting processes that limit protest's creativity and impact.

To best understand the processes by which a recognisable landscape of resistant content is made available to, and recognised by, local actors, I present throughout this thesis not only an analysis of the discourses of grassroots participants in protest. I expand my ethnographic data to include the content promoted by 'elites', a term which I do not utilise in the common understanding of a neoliberal elite facing a subordinated people. Rather, the 'elite' in this context refers to the producers and organisers of protest discourses, as I

seek to unpack the tropes and content which they create and perpetuate. This approach to 'elites' does not destabilise a reading of 'embeddedness' (Falzon, 2012) as much as it traces the roots of grassroots discontent upwards to its producers and promoters. These are key voices in local constructions of solidarity and resistance.

The following chapters are organised thematically. The themes mirror the progression of a long-term investigation of resistance in Madrid, as it unpacks local experiences of protest, its successes and failures, since the 2011 turning point, and the crucial societal fracture of conflict that predates and shapes it.

Chapter Three:

Beyond the Neoliberal Divide:

An investigation of the role of the economic crisis in Madrileño resistance since 2011.

Abstract:

The economic crisis of 2008 reshuffled expectations and livelihoods across Europe. In Southern European states in particular, a new generation of technologically literate youth grew in discontent from new harsh austerity measures, culminating in 2011 in a wave of mass urban protests across Spain. This chapter investigates the economic impetus and narratives of contestation during and after this mass mobilisation. It finds that the key impact of the 15M movement in Spain were, firstly, a change to the social perception of participation and citizenship, as participants used new media to confront perceived economic injustice; secondly, a reliance on narratives of spontaneity and solidarity to bind individual experiences of precarity; and finally, a de-nationalisation of

the politic of the subordinate self, as neo-liberal policy reshaped the authority role of the nation state. I examine these questions through the lens of crisis ethnography, to investigate the reach and the limitations of economic crisis in informing a contemporary analysis of Spanish protest and solidarity.

I. Introduction

Locating the pervasive role of the economic in Western (and global) societies is by no means a recent endeavour. In this section I take some time to examine the meanings behind 'neo-liberalism', a ubiquitous trope in contemporary dealings with the economic power systems under which we live.

I follow a mapping of the anthropological literature around two key concepts, 'modernity' and 'liberalism', to define the type of power (and, subsequently, the type of resistance) which we arose in a neo-liberal context in 2011. What Polanyi (1944, in Bloch, 2001) coined as 'self-regulating free markets' have brought about a global shift in livelihoods and subjectivities, shaping the way citizens relate to each other and to their governments. Markets, societies, governments and individuals make up complex assemblages (Ong and Collier, 2005), which anthropological analysis can study dynamically in many directions: who produces the texts of power, who reads and reproduces them, how they are experienced, perpetuated and challenged from the grassroots up.

Questioning the very meaning of 'neo-liberalism', and its link to resistance in Spain since 2011, provides solid grounds for the reading of discourses on power and accountability in protest. Once the polysemy and assemblages of neo-liberalism have been overviewed, I proceed to consider the operative concept of 'crisis'. The financial crash suffered by the Eurozone in 2008 has undergone so much discussion that it has passed into daily parlance, with the metonym 'the Crisis' encompassing broad themes of unemployment, financial misconduct and austerity measures. 'Crisis' and austerity are central to the experiences of

the 2011 protesters, and to the way they are remembered and discussed in Madrid today. Any study of modern European urban resistance must first grapple with the sets of meaning and emic understanding contained within these terms, as they grow to signify not just an economic phenomenon, but a collective experience of accountability and practice.

This chapter then engages directly with my hypothesis regarding post-crisis protests in Madrid since 2011: that they fail to translate into lasting social change as they operate alongside divides that surpass, and pre-date, the financial crisis of 2008. To this end, I provide a brief analysis of the effects of the Euro-crisis on Southern Europe broadly, considering classic tropes of clientelism and economic misconduct that were crucial to the implementation of unprecedented European austerity measures. Centralised governance de-sovereignises those nations hardest hit by crisis, and lead to new emancipatory struggles, with unique scale and consequences in the 'Southern European periphery' (Tsampras, in Clark and Moćjic, 2018).

In a final section dedicated to the transition of indignation into politics, I discuss regional parallels across Southern Europe in crisis, not just in the terms of the economist but in cultural frameworks. I review the feasibility of considering Greece, framed as the crisis nation *par excellence*, and Spain, in parallel. From the exceptional moment of public engagement in 2011, both countries have presented similarities in their electoral trajectories and their centre-periphery relations to the Troika. I pay particular attention to the birth and progress of the new Left party *Podemos,* in Spain: its influences, ideological lines, and its relation to 15M resistance. This review contributes to further arguments in this thesis, concerning 15M's ultimate inefficacy to translate into lasting change at an institutional level. A conclusion to this chapter will review the key role that neo-liberal systems have played in sparking contemporary Spanish discontent; but also, will identify exactly how these systems are insufficient to adequately understand local meanings of social division and resistance in Spain.

2. Exploring the concept of 'neo-liberal' power

> 'There has been a subtle (or not so subtle, depending on your perspective) shift wherein the economic is no longer at the root of the social, but *is* the social. It is the lens through which social action is comprehended, both by scholars and, I contend, among the lay public'
>
> Kapferer, 2010.

'Neo-liberalism': definitions and usage

The term of 'neo-liberalism', though pervasive in contemporary study, does not lend itself to a set and concise definition. It is nevertheless essential to any analysis of post-crisis Spanish society, through its conceptual relationship to 'crisis', livelihoods and economic survival. The following overview cannot be considered exhaustive, as it concerns itself with Western manifestations of the economic policy, and does not touch upon issues of gender, racial or post-colonial violence as they may arise in fields outside of Spain.

The economic has grown, in the West and globally, to a complex assemblage from which neither individuals nor their governments can greatly distance themselves. The growing correspondence between the economic and the politic has led anthropologists to consider neoliberalism as 'both an economic system and a system of governmentality' (Ortner, 2016). In a discussion held at the City University of New York in 2008, Naomi Klein likens modern economic systems to a pervasive, all encompassing manifestation of capitalism, taking place after what she calls 'the seductive phase of capitalism' (beginning in the 1940s after the Second World War; what Brown, 2011, coins 'the Golden age' of capitalism). Spanning the second half of the twentieth century, where western capitalism driven by the United States was to contend with a leftist eastern block before achieving worldwide hegemony, her analogy delimits the 'seduction' and 'violence' of capitalism. It provides a good entry point into the complex meaning(s) of 'neo'-liberalism. From an

economic system promising free trade and rewards for professional activity, capitalism became overshadowed in the 1980s by the structural violence it imposed upon emerging states (Roy, 2014; Escobar, 2011). Current experiences of inequality bring the effects of unbridled liberalism to bear upon Western populations, making 'neo-liberalism' shorthand for the power exercised by corporations upon states and their citizens. As Kapferer (2010) summarises, 'the market has stopped fitting into a national/political structure, and has become the shape into which structures fit'.

The aftermath of the crash of the stock exchange in 2008 illustrated the above point, with the use of public (tax) funds to bail out failing banking institutions in Europe. The sentiment of a liberal system which had outgrown its participants, offering them structural violence in the place of 'golden age' opportunity, had truly come home to roost in the minds of the European middle and working classes. The free markets to which Polanyi had attributed qualities of 'self'-regulation' had themselves become actors, disembedded from social and political constraints. Neo-liberalism's violence, in the wake of 'crisis', has been framed primarily in its relation to the individual rather than to the political system; by magnifying the core of capitalism (the free pursuit of capital), it places on the individual not just the possibility of gain but the responsibility for hardship, casting poverty as failure. Such forays into moral grounds, such as responsibility, show the ‘penetrative aspect of [its policies], bringing market logic to bear on seemingly every facet of social life’ (Brodie, 2007 in Braedley and Luxton, 2010: 7).

Neo-liberalism, new liberalism ?

The concept of 'modernity' further informs the impact of neo-liberal economic doctrine on life in twenty-first century Spain. As noted in the previous literature review, Spain's economic development in the 1970s was motivated by a policy of qualifying for, and integrating, European membership. The idea that Europeanism is a yardstick for modern lifestyles and economic practices holds particular weight in the recent history of southern European states, as has been illustrated by the anthropology of Greece (Sutton, 1998,

Knight, 2016, Herzfeld, 1984) and by Collier (1997), in her pan-generational study of Andalucians.

Is neo-liberalism justifiably the modern development of liberalism, in a teleological sense? Collier's Andalusia offers a good entry point into this question, since her study relies heavily on a reading of Giddens's (1991) concept of modernity. In *Duty to Desire,* the new importance of lifestyle choices in 1980s Spain reflect, in a modern reading, the imperatives of neo-liberalism. 'In conditions of modernity, we all not only follow lifestyles, but in an important sense are forced to do so' (Giddens, 1991: 81). So it is for, for instance, the young women of the second generation of Collier's study; they leave the village and its structured courtship patterns to move to small, rented properties in the city, where they engage with professional productivity in the new service industries. Courtship, marriage and fertility are all impacted by a lifestyle choice driven by the imperative of economic solvency and urban lifestyles; and while Collier's interviews in los Olivos in the 1980s reflect the titular 'desire' for the possibilities of urban lifestyles, a broader look at rural economies in the decade show that such lifestyle changes are driven by an undercurrent of productive necessity.

In Giddens's changing and unpredictable modern world, identity and the self are no longer ascribed (as in the structures of Los Olivos) but become personal narratives and endeavours, carried out with purpose in anonymous urban contexts. His theories present modernity as congruent with industrialism, but not limited to it. Again here we find arguments around the unprecedented pervasion of the modern economic into everyday life. Even critiques of modernity must be formulated within its structures and using its language; as one Madrileño teenager put it, at the site of an anti-governmental protest in 2016: '*Bueno, pero igual cojeron el metro para llegar no?* ('This is all well, but they still took the metro to get here didn't they?'), referencing the irony of people paying for a municipal service in order to come and march against the municipality. Giddens' *Consequences of modernity* (1990) highlights the 'system of unapprehended global connection' into which everyday activities, such as travel, consumption, health or communication are woven. Giddens does not limit his 'modernity' to economic and

market realms; his analysis places the individual against unknowable worlds of 'expert knowledge', or 'symbolic media' (like scientific knowledge and the rationality of experts- 1990) in interconnected global contexts.

Contemporary scholars of economic practice (Graeber, 2011; Harvey, 2007) broadly concur that these are key aspects of the neo-liberal landscape; systems of 'expert knowledge' have been in development for the past three decades, since the time when 'economists, armed with impenetrable mathematical arguments, claimed to Thatcher and Reagan that there is no alternative to market fundamentalism' (Hart and Ortiz, 2008). The 'impenetrable' argument opposes an opaque centre of knowledge to the mass of citizenry. And so, the divide increases, between local actors and the market processes which shape their everyday experience of 'trust' and 'risk' (Bryant and Jary, 1997: 12). Trust is understood as faith in the probity of one's peers or the reliability of social systems- a concept that is significant in a time of crisis born of 'broken neoliberal promises' (Herzfeld, 2011). As such, neo-liberalism is inherently 'modern' in Giddens's sense, showing a protean evolution from 'liberalism' into a context of opaque expert knowledge and high instability, as well as a private responsibility on the individual to fulfill its livelihoods. Both of these are key tenets of today's experience of crisis in Europe, and permeate tangibly into the discourses of urban political resistance.

'What we mean when we say "crisis"'

Stephane Grueso, a Madrid-based documentary filmmaker who asked to be named in this study, told me during the course of an interview: 'the main problem we have now, with people, is that they have this false sense that we are *out* of the crisis- that we somehow climbed out of it. They don't understand "it" is ongoing, what we mean when we say 'crisis'; people, they move on, the crisis to them must be punctual'.

It is fitting, perhaps, or at least alluring to the modern day Europeanist, that a search for the etymological root of 'crisis' brings us to the Greek *krinein.* It has its first usage in

English as a medical term, referring to the decisive point in an illness where the patient either sets a course for recovery or deteriorates irretrievably. A discourse analysis across public media and academia shows that while the term has strayed from its Middle English origin, it still serves as shorthand for times of significant restructuring and *krinein,* decisiveness.

'Crisis' has evolved to signify, in its contemporary economic sense, the sudden effects of market crashes as they are suffered by businesses and local populations. Since the unprecedented (in this generation) financial crash of 2008 spread across the West, it has become a catch-all phrase among journalists, a renewed field for the social sciences, and a hollow category for local actors. Hart and Ortiz (2008) called it a 'hinge moment in history', where the losses suffered by western populations 'ripped off the mask of neo-liberal ideology' (ibid). In technical terms, they attribute the origin of the crisis to the 'extension of credit to people who could not meet the conditions of payment set in the US.' The ensuing collapse would see the failure and nationalisation of large banks across the US and Europe, and the loss of savings and mortgage foreclosures for those who had been wrongly given credit. Hart and Ortiz, writing in the very first year of the crisis- which we have now come to know as a lasting backdrop to livelihoods- surmised that anthropology serves in these *krinein,* decisive times, by 'bring[ing] the distributive consequences of finance down to a concrete level' (ibid).

The last decade has seen European ethnographers rise to the challenge, as research on reactions and experiences of crisis at the grassroots level has flourished. In this body of work, Greece hold a choice place, as a locus of crisis rhetoric and suffering (Knight, 2013, 2015; Herzfeld, 2011; Theodossopoulos, 2014b); Portugal, Italy and, most prolifically, Spain, have also become repeat fields and objects of the study of Hart and Ortiz's 'consequences of finance'.

In Europe's southern periphery (Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal), the effects of economic downturn have outlasted those in other European regions- in 2014, though Greece continued to suffer the hardest grunt of economic decline, Spain's unemployment

remained on the rise over six years after the actual moment 'crisis' was declared (Tsampra, in Clark and Wójcik, 2018). On the ground level, this prolonged experience of crisis is concretely manifest in the form of high unemployment (with continued youth unemployment of over 35%, Sabaté 2016), re-structuring of family units (with older children moving back in with parents, ibid), and heightened job instability with many graduates returning to undeclared or minimum wage contract jobs. Reported 'difficulty making ends meet', correlated with a condition of 'risk of poverty', remains highest in Europe behind Romania and Latvia (Tsampra, in Wócjik, 2018). All of these factors are frequently articulated together by local actors, as in Adrian's case, who in 2016 'celebrated' (his words, scoffed during our casual meeting) his third year of moving back in with his mother in a suburb over an hour from Madrid. 'It isn't all unrelated', he said. 'My father just, poof, disappeared, once he lost his job. And so my mother was alone, with the weight of the house on her. I had already lost my job [clerking for an insurance company] and since I had to shoulder my father's finances... It made more sense to move back in with her. So now yes, I live out in Arganda, and I retrained, in IT this time because IT isn't something they can take away from you just like that. It's not so bad, I can manage with my mother being thrifty. But, I'm 32, when am I going to meet someone, for my own family? And am I going take her home and have her meeting my mother the same day?' His narrative was in no way unique across the experiences of crisis related to me over the course of two years; many men and women of his generation told how they had rethought their life plans to accommodate the hardships which befell them. But his story is a telling, and moving, grassroots account of what economists dryly discuss as 'renewal in late nest-leaving' and 'impacts on birth rates'. One year later, with a job in a small IT company north of Madrid and a 3 hour daily commute, Adrian considered himself one of the lucky ones.

Economic crisis- caused by the crash of markets, and the popping of a credit bubble forged in the 'impenetrable mathematical arguments' of a disembedded financial system- has sparked disillusionment with liberalisation as progress. It has removed economic (mal)practice from its unknowable status as a necessity of modernity, and has 'brought the issue of distribution [back] to center stage' (Hart and Ortiz, 2008), leaving local actors

to construct new views of the systems under which they live- a fertile ground for political emergence.

3. Motivations, achievements and contestation of a mass movement: 15M in retrospect.

2011: a public engagement odyssey

'I had seen things going on in Sol for a few days by then, less than a week', said Daniel, an engineering student who was 21 at the time the Indignado movement began to gather momentum in Madrid's Puerta del Sol. 'But I was studying outside of the centre, I mostly came by at weekends. And then one weekend I remember, coming out of the metro at Sol to go and play pool with friends, and it sounded like a rumble, like a train, but it got louder the further you got from the platforms. So my friend and I thought, another march like we had seen on TV- but we eventually came out into the square, and no, this was something very different from what we had seen here before'.

Daniel was telling me that he had not, like most of his acquaintances (and indeed, most of my participants), learnt of the scale the the 15M protests in Puerta del Sol from Facebook, but had been hit by it in living form. Three aspects of his anecdote are particularly relevant: first and foremost, the unprecedented scale of the encampments that took over one of Madrid's most iconic centres as protesters refused to leave the scene of a march; second, the new engagement of protesters and citizens with ICTs (information and communication technologies), as information was spread through locally unprecedented uses of social media; and third, the assertion that 'this was something very different', which corresponds with a frequent presentation of 15M as 'unprecedented' and separate from protest genealogies (Flesher Fominaya, 2015).

The events of May 15th, 2011 took place three years prior to the beginning of this Ph.D. investigating their long-term ramifications. Consequently, the data presented in this review of the emergence of urban resistance in 2011 relies on media publications and social media posts dated back to the origins of the movement in Sol, and accessed online between 2015 and the time of writing.

Stéphane Hessel's 2010 pamphlet *Indignez-Vous!,* originally published in French and concerned primarily with the policies of then-president Nicolas Sarkozy (UMP), tackled a broad spectrum of issues from immigration to the Gaza strip from what he describes as a 'Sartrian view of self-engagement'. The pamphlet was widely translated and sold over 4 million copies in 2011, and is identified by the Madrileño platform *Democracia Real Ya!* (Real Democracy Now) as the 'etymological' origin of '*Indignados'*. The term was used from May 2011 by international political voices to designate the broad assembly of citizens who partook in the protest movements in Spain, and worldwide; locally, actors rarely refer to themselves using the term, preferring to self-define as the date acronym '15M' (Flesher Fominaya, 2015). In this thesis, I refer to the group using both terms, following the usage of the source at hand, a process that confirms an outsider use of 'Indignados' and the grassroots preference for '15M'. As I discuss further in this chapter, the term 'Indignados' has been contested by participants at the local level as reductive of 15M's reach; other actors, who did not engage in the protests in Sol, regard is as exclusive of other expressions of discontent.

The Puerta del Sol, home of Madrid's *kilometro cero*, supposedly the geographic centre of the Iberian peninsula, underwent a very public change of image in the month following 15th May, when the first protesters of a march raising awareness for the upcoming elections (Romanos, 2014) refused to disband and set up a '*permanencia'* (permanent presence) in the square. Lasting up until its dissolution by the police and municipal forces on June 12th-13th, the occupation of the square grew to become a visible, infrastructural community on the margins of urban legality. Tents and tarpaulins grew around the statue of Carlos III; the *balena* ('whale') metro exit for Sol became an ever-changing canvas of

protest artwork and slogans; and the surrounding buildings of the square, with their advertising billboards, were appropriated as message boards for 15M. These messages fell under the broad umbrella of 'anti-austerity' (Romanos, 2014), denouncing the material conditions and cuts to social services suffered by Spanish citizens. Rather than being driven by a single demographic, the demands voiced in Sol concerned students, unemployed youths, evicted families, pensioners and immigrants.

The occupation, which was also known as *Toma la Plaza*, 'Take the Square', was at first glance a public, visual renegotiation of terms of private and municipal property. Alicia, a blogger who was in the *instituto* (high school) at the time of the events, remembers a controversial argument made against the 15M group: 'on my father's side, my grandparents, they really aren't into all these *punks* (sic), these groups they saw on TV. They said this was terrible, they were taking hold of the city space, of public space and making it chaotic. But then when I was there in the crowd, people were talking about how this was the epitome of 'public space'; after all, we were the public, and we were using it in public events. It just wasn't organised and regulated by the *ayuntamiento*, and for some people like my grandparents, this wasn't 'public', it was chaos.' The contentious use of 'public' property inscribes the protest as economic, as well as political, resistance; a Scottian (1985) articulation of disenfranchised masses against an economically powerful centre. Scott's resistance is a 'lynchpin to imagine local 'peasant' responses to globalising forces', acting against the 'untenable situations and unfulfilled desires' of global economics (West and Sanders, 2003, in Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2010: 85). The landscape of tents and tarpaulins, up against the backdrop of the classical architecture of the Ayuntamiento headquarters, is a stark visual juxtaposition of the property struggles addressed by the 15M. In a protest motivated by local experiences of austerity and hardship, the tent (though it may just be serving a practical purpose in a long term *permanencia*) becomes a metonym for precarity. Set against the brick-and-mortar urban landmarks of public spending, its symbolic role was cemented by police removal after one month of occupation.

Although the housing issue in Spain was a key trope, the 15M in Puerta del Sol attained unprecedented proportions (since the country's transition to democracy, Morell, 2012) precisely by combining forms of discontent and not limiting itself to a bound agenda. The voluntary openness of the protest encouraged participation from all and any person suffering from, or merely opposed to, the austerity measures backed by the state since the crisis. The apparent absence of a single agenda is at the root of the movement's inclusivity, and of its founding quality of 'spontaneity'. The memory of the 15M, seven years later, still relies heavily on a narrative of spontaneity. This holds strong roots in the role played by information and communication technologies (ITCs) in the original effervescence and the growth of the movement. 'Self mobilisation' or 'social network format mobilisation' (Morell, 2012) was enabled by the fairly recent boom of pier-to-pier social media such as Facebook and Twitter, and, crucially, of the smartphone. An El País blog article, entitled '15 things you experienced if you were in Acampada Sol', lists an emic nostalgic overview of the protest, including reflections on the use of social media at the time: 'At a time in which we didn't use Whatsapp yet and Twitter was in full explosion, you cursed your 3G connection for not allowing you to upload photos of this historic movement'.[4] Whatsapp, a simple phone to phone messaging system, has taken over the lion's share of communication apps in Spain in past years (despite knowing only relative success in other European nations); but as this blogger points out, the act of peer-to-peer sharing to an online public was a key modo-operandi of the 2011 movements. Postill (2013) proposed the framework of 'media epidemiography' to study the role played by ICTs in spread of the Indignados movement. More than simply providing a sharing space for images and narratives of protest, he argues that Twitter was a central site of propagation for setting the 'tone' of the protest, communicating its organisation and spreading its slogans. I further this idea, suggesting that the peer-to-peer mediascapes, which participants both constituted and consumed visually, created an aesthetic of 15M which eased the inclusion of previously non-activist actors into the movement. By 'aesthetic', I mean a set of recognisable visual and narrative cues which the discontented population of Madrid could recognise and recreate easily, inscribing themselves in a new tradition of activism to which they had previously been outsiders. A visible manifestation of this aesthetic is the

[4] '15 cosas que viviste si estabas en las acampadas del 15M', *Verne El País,* 15/05/2015.

hashtag symbol, which featured heavily on the handwritten signs of 15M. The transition of the symbol, from a twitter tagging device to physical cardboard signs, shows the appropriation of 'virality' and online communications by the movement. The hand-painted '#' bridges the new media of ICTs with the historic protest act of sign-making. The hashtag joined the aesthetic backdrop of protest, symbolising grassroots narratives overtaking institutional narratives through peer-to-peer sharing; it subverts the agency-patiency of victims of austerity in the production of meaningful content. 15M's own self-produced content 'broke with the correctness of previous political languages, to connect with emerging cultures' (Haro, 2010, in Morell, 2012).

Flesher-Fominaya (2015) argues that to follow the narrative of spontaneity to the letter is to ignore the actual driving forces that brought about 15M and made it structurally possible. 'To say it was not spontaneous is not to say it was expected' (ibid)- the reach and impact of 15M in politicising new groups of individuals is not under question. Rather, a post-factum review of the movement must identify the driving, organising forces behind its forefront effervescence. I come back to this idea in chapter 4, identifying the producers or 'edifiers' who construct resistant narratives and aesthetic frameworks. Genealogically, the movement is linked back to the coalescence of pre-existing, established activist circles. These include the PAH, *Plataforma de los Afectados por la Hipoteca* (Platform for those affected by Mortgages), which combined several local antennae to form a nationwide organisation two years earlier, in 2009. They gathered momentum even after the occupiers of 15M had left Sol: 34,034 home evictions were carried out across Spain in 2012, while the crash of the new real estate market had left over 3 million homes unoccupied (Romanos, 2014).

Under the terms of neo-liberal doctrine discussed above, the failure to meet mortgage payments and the loss of rights to one's home to the bank are signifiers of individual failure- the responsibilities of the individual in a system facilitating liberal practices have not been met. Competition, promoted as a maximiser of individual freedom, places responsibility on the individual rather than on political structures- neo-liberalism thus renders human life ‘amenable to economic calculation’ (Brown, 2015). The failed neo-

liberal subject is placed on the margins of economic practices by their failure. By Gledhill's terms, the 'marginal' group of the evicted are introduced, in the context of 15M as a 'New Social Movement' into 'political processes, highlighting popular responses that do not fit into institutional frameworks of representation' (Gledhill, 1994: 179). The 'strategic disobedience' (Abellán et al, 2012) of occupying Puerta del Sol with human crowds and temporary infrastructure opened up new discussions on the institutional framework of property rights. These debates were echoed by the 'occupied' spaces into which the movement moved, once it was disbanded in June 2011, and in which activism continues to this day (Abellán et al, 2012; Urla and Helepololei, 2014). Chapter 6, on politicised urban landscapes, provides further study of the spaces into which activism moved after 15M.

The useful limits of 'spontaneity'

The rapid entry into protest and politics of previously disenfranchised masses arises from the shared experience of austerity, but the actuality of the movement- the manner in which it is condensed into a single, lasting urban protest- is not purely spontaneous. 'Spontaneity' is a useful tool for the rapid integration of new members (Polletta, 2009), since it provides an inclusive landscape, in which prior engagement is not required to participate. The use of a hashtag on social media allows a participant to self-represent very accessibly, in terms of activism and engagement- 'as though all that was needed for a revolution was access to Facebook or Twitter' (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015). Beyond spontaneity, the 15M relied on pre-existing knowledge of how to promote content, moderate assemblies, and of the ICTs that had recently set a precedent in the Arab Spring (Nail, 2013). To over-emphasise the spontaneous nature of the events in Sol is to overlook the roles of networks and organisers. These include the PAH and DRY but also trace their genealogy back to earlier Spanish protest, where the Left has been managing large deliberative assemblies and using tactics of destabilisation since the transition to democracy in the 1970s. Despite the 'need for a good narrative to secure political impact' (Polletta, 2009), the structures that allowed the emergence of a 15M-scale of public participation pre-exist the movement, and were mobilised in ways that protect the founding myth of spontaneity.

Stéphane Grueso, mentioned in the previous section, compiled his experience of the Sol encampment into a documentary (*'Excelente. Revulsivo. Importante'*- 'Excellent. A wake up call. Important.') which forms part of the projects recognised by the 15M promotion collective. When I interviewed him in 2016, I had hoped to steer the discussion towards the instances of police brutality visible in the film. Our conversation ended up highlighting a different, less sensationalist aspect of his retrospection of the protest. 'There's a lot, in hindsight, that could have been more effective. Of course, it became such a diverse scene, you had one *asemblea* on this side discussing public education, and over here there was a guy doing yoga... But one thing we *really* stuck to, which made us better at what we were doing, was that anytime someone showed up with a flag for a party, or flyers- there was a girl early on trying to hand out flyers for the *partido antitaurino* [a political movement primarily concerned with animal rights and the banning of bullfighting in Spain]- we shut that down. There were no *partidos* going to piggy-back on what we were doing; and we managed to keep it independent that way.' What Grueso took away as a major achievement of 15M, as an active member and record-keeper, was the non-alignment which the movement managed to maintain despite the institutional pressure exercised against it. That he identified this, over more striking memories of police brutality, as a key take-away point of Spain's single largest contemporary protest, further confirms the importance of 'spontaneity' as its defining narrative. Horizontality, autonomy, and heterogeneity- safeguarded by non-alignment and the refusal of party affiliation- all contribute to the framing of 15M as a movement of ordinary citizens. Economically, it separates the movement from institutional funding (which the named involvement of the Left would have muddied); the limited resources of the independent grassroots movement of citizens serves to further highlight the effects of austerity as a cause of economic alienation, but also, as a catalyst for democratic renewal. When the effervescence of 15M coalesced (some Madrileños might say, died down) into a political program, their primary support came from citizens who, prior to 2011, had not self-categorised as voters (Nez, 2015).

At least we're not in Greece: mutual reference across crisis-scapes

The impact of Acampada Sol reached beyond the square, the country or even the continent. At a time when tropes of economic injustice and the violence of austerity were at the forefront the discourses of the left, the protest in Puerta del Sol became the Western patient zero of a lasting spread of global movements that relied on the same binding tropes- of political awakening, of horizontal democracy. The spread of the movements ultimate reached the United States in the form of the Occupy movement of October 2011 (Castañeda, 2012). These international ramifications mirrored the progression framework seen in 15M: from early calls to protest (in May 2011 in Madrid) 'before the upcoming municipal elections, to denounce the deplorable conditions in which citizens suffer from severe abuse caused by political and economic powers' (Morell, 2012), the movement shifted from a thematic, electorally aimed protest to 'meta-political confrontations' (ibid). The openness of structure and intentional non-affiliation of 15M gave 'anti-austerity' the potential to become an umbrella protest for all manner of concerns, primarily economic, but reaching into LGBT rights, migrant rights, women's reproductive rights and more.

Anti-austerity found a particularly strong echo in Southern European states, particularly Portugal, Spain and Greece. The 'manufactured austerity' (Schram, 2013) imposed upon these poor performers of the Eurozone recreates what Herzfeld might call a 'crypto-colonial' space (2002)- an economic periphery reproducing the schema of post-colonial dominance, without belonging to historically colonised regions. Gledhill says, of the global south in the 1990s, that ‘it is now commonplace to argue that the end of formal colonial rule did not spell the end of colonial relationships between North and South; the old politico-administrative form of colonialism having simply been replaced by new, and more insidious, colonial relationships’ (Gledhill, 1994: 6). Neo-liberal cosmopolitics, as they were practiced in the wake of the financial crisis, created discrepancies not only between the economically successful and the struggling, but extended this experiences of marginality to entire regions. Protest movements in Southern Europe in 2011, while varying locally, all present resistance in terms of 'dissatisfaction with neo-liberal cosmopolitics, [and the] discrepancies in cosmopolitan experience that marginalise economic groups' (Goddard, 2010). Greece has achieved a position of exceptionality in

European discourses of economic hardship, shaping 'crisis' as a trope rather than an economic event (Knight, 2013). The country's particularly harsh relationship with neo-liberal economic practice has turned it, two-fold, into both the 'bad student' for economists, and into a paragon of social injustice for activist circles. The exceptional 'crisis-scape' (Dalakoglou, 2012) of Greece has outlasted Spain in contemporary 'mediascapes' (Appadurai, in Knight, 2013). From signs in Acampada Sol reading 'Despiertad Griegos' ('Greeks, Wake Up'), the discourses of mutual solidarity across southern Europe have tapered down in Madrid- as Dani, a musician of Mexican origin, observed: 'we are in such a hurry to believe that we are out of the crisis, that we are doing better than someone, that people are almost grateful for Greece! You know, someone might be moving to England because he can't find work, or might be making barely rent in the city. But at least he's not in Greece'. Such discourses mirror the hierarchy of European peripheral status, which reappear in the discourse of Podemos analysed in section 3.

'The actuality of revolution': symbols in grassroots organisation

The heteroclite assemblage of voices engaged in 15M juxtaposes its aesthetic of 'direct, horizontal democracy' (Flesher Fominaya, 2015) to institutional power by the practice of 'concrete, embodied practices of a revolutionary idea' (Nail, 2013). These are visible primarily in the reappropriation of 'public' spaces discussed above, and in the organisation and running of *asembleas*; these forums, held regularly over the month in which 15M occupied the Puerta del Sol, relied on direct participation from the crowds which directed and moderated the discussion. The illustrations of many of the articles commemorating the Indignado to this day feature the hand gestures which have become emblematic of the protest and its practices. These are the twisting of both hands above one's head, a gesture of silent applause for approval, and the crossing of both arms above one's head, for dissent. Both predate the protest of 2011, and symbolise both its grassroots self-discipline and its genealogical ties to a background of inherited protest practices. The symbols have

joined a toolset of resistant semiotics and gestures through which Madrileño activists continue to recognise and understand one another.

In a small, seated meeting beside the statue of Carlos III in Sol in July 2015, I witnessed these hand gestures being used despite there being only two dozen people present, and few raised voices or disagreements. I asked Paz, the woman sitting to my left, why these gestures still mattered to the small contingent sitting out in the square (this time, to protest the 'gag laws' which threatened rights to congregate and protest without a permit). 'I still do it because I like the quiet- I wouldn't want to be part of a group that shouts and talks over each other. We have the *diputados* (chamber of deputies) for that. This way reminds me of how we managed so well with so many people four years ago- how we show ourselves to be organised, collected, not a furious bunch bashing tables like the politicans'. Paz was a woman of about 50, who had found in the 15M a forum in which to build her current network, which articulated primarily around sharing holistic treatment advice (she offered me a free consultation about my smoking habit), and organising meditation groups in the public gardens around Lavapies. Nail's 'actuality of revolution' had, in Spain, coalesced into lasting forms of cooperative activism. As one banner pasted to the Sol Metro's *Balena* in May 2011 illustrated, '*No somos anti-sistema. El sistema es anti-nosotros'* ('We are not anti-system. The system is anti-us'), the movement successfully reshaped the amalgamation of protesters with anarchists; this was achieved, in great part, by the grassroots organisation and self-moderation of the movement.

Not completely inclusive, completely adequate or completely clean: local contention and limitations of the 15M

After the disbanding of the last of 15M's tents and makeshift buildings on June 13th, 2011, the protest continued its public engagement in a new form: the occupation of unused buildings. So came about the #hotelmadrid occupation, which took place in a disaffected hotel at number 10, calle Carretas. At the time of writing, the building has been vacated by the real estate promoter in charge of its management for over six years, but the facade

(less than 100 meters from the Puerta del Sol) remains boarded up and the windows on the first floor broken or permanently left open. This is the space that 15M chose to keep up their *permanencia* from July to October 2011, making visible the discrepancies of city space in a time when the movement engaged primarily with support to evicted families. 'Squatting', in its marginal nature, 'created new spaces of citizenship and cracked the naturalised facets of capitalism, such as the powerful discourse about property rights' (Abellán et al, 2012). The act of illegal occupancy serves to re-cast disused urban spaces as 'matter out of place' in local terms of suffering and insecure housing.

However, after the wide support gathered in the early days of Acampada Sol (with 84% of those surveyed in Madrid reportedly sympathetic to the movement- Morell, 2012), the movement's shift to occupy private property rather than the public square coincided with new, critical voices around it. Madrileño concern with defending real estate and its value against illegal activity took precedent over the effervescence of direct democratic processes as seen in the square. A business owner in the Calle Preciados, one of the major commercial arteries converging at Sol, said in a televised interview (published on abc.es in the segment *Las Huelgas de Acampada Sol,* 'the traces left by Acampada Sol'): 'now that they have been moved out of the square, I hear they plan to put together some kind of open fair on the Puerta del Sol, of about 200 square meters, to make an information centre. Ok, well, the first 'informing' they need to do is inform themselves of how much the rent and taxes are for a space of 200 square meters on Sol, and pay them. And then, if these people do get the authorisation to put up their kiosk right on the square, then no one had better come and tell me that I can't put up my stalls out there too, or that my neighbour can't sell his beer there, or that the store in front can't set up shop to sell his perfume'. This interview, edited for television, shows a voluntaristic framing of the protest in terms of accountability; that rather than questioning the fundaments of the economic condition of post-crisis Spain, the organisation needed to pay its dues into that very system in order to exist within it. Local understandings of injustice are turned against the protesters by local businesses in classic 'if we have to pay so do they' logic, effectively re-casting 15M into tropes of pre-existing liberal structures.

This turn against the protest was articulated along themes of economic accountability (now understood in structural, state tax terms rather than as neo-liberal violence), and branched out to include issues of disorganisation and cleanliness, as the figure of the 'protester' was progressively returned to one of matter out of place marginality.

Within a month, the effervescence of the popular protest had given way to conventional, structural concerns- at the forefront of which was cleanliness. Another abc.es interviewee, a woman in her 40s running a snack business on the Puerta del Sol, summarised the sentiment as follows: 'I really didn't mind what they were doing. I support them, I think in a lot of ways they are right. But, you know, the elections have come and gone... And there was definitely a smell. This square couldn't be cleaned properly, because of the tarpaulins; there were dogs, people with no showers. It really became a problem'. Others, whom I came to meet years later, were less restrained in their sentiment. 'God, was it mortifying', commented Nacho, a 50 year old businessman, when we were in a casual setting discussing my research. 'Honestly, you couldn't go near the place for the smell. And the chaos and the tents, dogs, children running around... What a way to show the city. We need the tourism here, sure, who cares, but I think a lot of us were embarrassed- to see tourists shocked by what they saw on Sol.'

Such comments are reminiscent of Theodossopoulos's (2013) work on 'infuriation with the infuriated'. Much like the Greek participants in his work, the voices that rose against 15M- both in the Spanish media and among actors like Nacho, who did not consider themselves included in the protest rhetoric- bemoaned the appropriation of 'infuriation' by the movement. Rapidly, the effervescence of 15M was recast into the structural terms it had hoped to renegotiate. Even Victor, my participant from the suburbs, who had been present at several of the occupation's *asembleas*, recalls: 'once the elections had passed, it all felt a little different. Maybe not for the others but I think I wanted to be doing this with an end-goal, not be doing it all my life. So after the elections, I didn't stick around'. The elections he was referring to were the regional elections of May 22nd, 2011, in which despite the growing traction of 15M, the centre-right Partido Popular remained in the lead for the government of Madrid (Nez, 2015). When I asked him how he had felt about the

results, he laughed and said he couldn't quite recall, didn't they (the Left) do rather badly? He told me to look up the results on my smartphone so that I could put them in my notes.

'Revolución no es botellón': safety and risk in Sol

With the election having evidenced little impact of 15M to the governmental level, critics began questioning the effective running of Acampada Sol. Alongside the structural concerns of cleanliness and the impact on the face of the city (discussed above), the occupiers of the square were returned to a position of marginality by increased concern with the 'governability' of protest. By this I mean the evaluation of the protest not as a creative scene of democracy, but as a contentious site of 'governmentality' in the Foucauldian sense: how the Acampada transgressed ideals of citizenship amenable to state control. To follow the Foucauldian thread, the tarpaulins and tents, and the grassroots assemblies of the occupation, created spaces invisible to state monitoring. When local populations denounce 'the dirt and the smell' of labyrinthine, temporary structures set up by protesters, they effectively cast the protest as 'matter out of place' in modern, sanitary, productive (for tourism) terms. These categories pertain to the 'expert knowledge' sets of neo-liberal modernism: within a month, the protest was once again measured against value-sets of the very system it questioned.

Such concerns were not ignored by the collective of 15M during the month of occupation. In photographs of the protest at its height, one can see a large banner above the Antiguo Hotel París (located at 1, Puerta del Sol, and shortly after converted into an Apple Store). The banner reads, 'revolución no es botellón'. *Botellón*, literally 'little bottle', is an ubiquitous term of Madrid social life; it refers to the traditional gathering of citizens to consume their own alcohol in the streets and squares of the capital. The sign translates loosely as 'revolution is not a block party', and reflects early concerns of the collective to dissociate from an aesthetic of chaotic, recreational protest. Efforts to take resistance seriously, prohibiting the consumption of alcohol and narcotics on the site of the protest, failed to overcome narratives of insecurity around the movement. Once again, the threat

to businesses and livelihoods took the forefront of critiques. Interviewed in El País, the owner of a betting kiosk situated in the centre of the occupied area, El Doblon de Oro, expressed relief on June 13th, 2011. 'I haven't been able to even access my kiosk most days, and I've been worried for my property- of course! When there are people everywhere around your business, writing on everything, putting their things up against your kiosk... It was worrying. Now I've been open less than ten minutes, and look, there is already a line!'.

Narratives of relief reflect what was a necessary quality of the 15M to its marginal supporters, or plain dissenters, in the square: that the protest, to be effective, had to be punctual and limited in time. 'Once the elections had passed, and they hadn't got what they wanted, there was a sense that they didn't quite know where they were going with it' (abc.es interviewee, quoted above). There are parallels visible here between the useable frame of protest, and the ritualistic release of 'collective effervescence' outlined by Durhkeim (in Allen, Pickering and Miller, 1998). In both instances, moments of shared and socially binding public behaviour create 'electricity' (ibid) which set them apart from the ordinary, everyday or 'profane'. Without elevating protest to ritualistic status (which is not met, in Durhkeim's terms, since the process is not regularly repeated), one can draw the parallel that in both cases the event is necessarily a punctual release. When local actors use narratives of relief in a return to 'normal', to controlled sanitisation and the encouragement of economic uses of public space, they set the momentous protest as an act of release, which cannot outlast its effervescent utility.

Casting 15M in retrospective narratives

At the time of writing, there is an ongoing project in the Madrid ayuntamiento, proposed by the new mayor Carmena in 2016, to put up a commemorative plaque to 15M on the Puerta del Sol. The plaque is planned to read 'Dormíamos, despertamos' ('We were asleep, we awaken'). While the project is supported by the mayor's party Ahora Madrid, the PSOE and new centre-right party Ciudadanos, its installation has been contested by the PP president of the Comunidad (2015-2018), Cristina Cifuentes: 'it is a joke of very poor

taste to put a commemoration of 15M alongside memorials for Dos de Mayo or, worse still, the victims of 11M'[5] (referring respectively to the anti-Napoleonic uprising of 1808, and the victims of the terrorist attack on the Atocha train station in 2004). The Facebook page for Democracia Real Ya, in May 2018, published a statement saying 'Council, we don't want more benches or for you to keep putting up green areas. We want recognition of what the people of Madrid mobilised for, and what Carmena promised now two years ago'.

With the question of a memorial raising contention in the city, it seems uncertain whether the movement will in fact be concretely commemorated in the Puerta del Sol. Nonetheless, discourse around the possibility of a memorial are key to the casting of 15M as an historic event in the past- to be remembered a part of the city's historic struggles. In planning a memorial, deciding powers in Madrid- including a mayor belonging to a new left party- contribute to the retrospective gaze which sets 15M as a punctual event, and marginalises further public engagement.

I have argued that the grassroots contestation of 15M, both immediately and in the years after the protest, locates the mass protest as punctual, partly ineffectual, and terminate. The mass solidarity that the 'spontaneity' of protest successfully triggered in May 2011 was rapidly returned to the margins of governance, with occupiers of the plaza being once again cast as disruptive to sanitation, security and the local economy. I now turn to consider the electoral outcome of the protest, with particular focus on the 'new left' parties that emerged both at the local and national level from 15M. I review the genealogical claims that these parties lay to the movement, and the manner in which protest discourses were articulated as they transferred into spheres on governance. This third and final section seeks to demonstrate that, both in terms of electoral results and in terms of loyalty to the ethos of 15M, the transition of the movement from grassroots to institutional democracy shows mitigated success.

[5] Martin, Daniel: 'Cifuentes se planta: No permitirá que la placa del 15M se coloque en la sed del gobierno regional', *El Mundo*, 25/02/2016.

4. From the *calles* to the *Cortes*: reviewing narratives of resistance in new left parties in Spain

Four years after the events of 2011, Pablo Iglesias reiterated that the party Podemos, of which he is the head, was 'the direct inheritor of the 15M (...) which was the greatest social representation of the crisis of political regime in Spain, and [remained] its greatest political representation'[6]. The former lecturer from Madrid's Complutense University cuts a strange figure in the landscape of Spanish government; open-collared shirts and his signature *coleta* (pony-tail hairstyle) stand in stark aesthetic dissonance with the conservative self-representation of Spain's political class. Through his arrival on the electoral scene occurred in 2014 (as a Podemos representative in the European Parliament), the discourses of the party relied heavily on references to the protest movements of 2011, as cited above. In a phenomenon that touches new left parties across southern Europe (particularly mirrored by Greece's Syriza, and its governmental struggles with central European power), narratives of the new left have relied, in the past seven years, on binding anti-austerity narratives drawn from the 'solidarity' and 'spontaneity' of protest movements, discussed in the previous section. Laying claim to emergence from, and continuity with, the 15M presents some tension which I review in this final segment of the chapter. Since 15M relied heavily on an ethic of political non-alignment, how has Podemos navigated the transition of anti-austerity protest into electoral spheres? The question is crucial to my argument; by establishing whether Podemos represents *sui generis* creativity from protest, or utilises the events of 2011 as an alluring founding myth of grassroots solidarity, is a first step in identifying the failures of mass protest to transform into lasting political change.

I address this question in two axes: firstly, by reviewing the moderate success of the New Left in Madrid to shake the bipartite foundations of Spanish democracy. Even if we are to accept Podemos (and its sister parties) as direct descendants of the Indignados, there

[6] 'Pablo Iglesias reinvica a Podemos como el 'movimiento heredero' del 15M, EFE Valencia, efe.com, 15/05/2015.

remains the question of how unprecedented social movements, in times of drastic experiences of austerity, fail to translate into transformative electoral results on the scale of widespread 'indignation'. I explore political analyses and ethnographic data on whether, and why, political representatives 'responsible' for contested austerity continue to enjoy majorities among subordinate subjects.

I also review the building narratives of New Left parties, their ideological alignment, and the transition of protest from non-alignment to electoral utilitarianism. Scott's 'hidden transcripts' (1990) offer a starting point for the argument that grassroots movements successfully contest dominant structures by remaining, necessarily, outside of the structures they contest. How have parties claiming a genealogical link to mass protest negotiated the spontaneous, inclusive and marginal nature of urban protest during transitions into political institutions? I conclude that Podemos faces an impossible task, of reconciling the aesthetic of the *calle* (street) with the structural constraints of the *Cortes* (political institutions in Madrid); reviewing these ideological and aesthetic tensions can help explain the relative failure of the party at the electoral level, and opens questioning for the possibility of a truly resistant politic in peripheral Europe.

The genesis of Podemos: protagonists and influences

Though the party continually locates itself as the inheritor of the Indignados, the driving impetus behind Podemos in fact consists of politicised academics from the Complutense's Political Science department, alongside pre-existing Left-wing political actors. In a comprehensive review of the origin and early trajectory of Podemos published in 2015, Héloïse Nez identifies three central figures of the party: Pablo Iglesias, at its head; Iñigo Errejón, its campaign manager, (whose youthful looks led a number of participants during my fieldwork to refer to him as 'el aprendiz', 'the intern'). The third, Juan Carlos

Monedero, also a Complutense professor, has the strongest active link to the occupation of the Puerta del Sol; he resigned from his role in Podemos in April 2015[7].
The political science campus at Somosaguas is an historic locale of left wing ideology within the Complutense University. To this it owes its peripheral location, nine kilometers west of the central Moncloa campus, chosen in 1968 in a bid to isolate its activist tendencies from pre-existing departments (Nez, 2015: 26). Iglesias, in reference to his professorial background, carefully dissociates the academic from the economic elite, insisting that there was, among students and faculty alike, a strong sense of precarity among the Political Science department (Iglesias, 2015; Nez, 2015). At the time of 15M, Iglesias had begun a media career on the television show *La Tuerka*. Specialising in political interviews, the program originated in his neighbourhood of Vallecas in South Madrid, and still gathers a Youtube following of 30 million viewers at the time of writing. Errejón, four years Iglesias's junior, was a doctoral student at the time of the protest, and submitted his thesis on hegemonic discourses in Bolivia in 2012.

The emergence of Podemos as a political voice for the Indignados was not immediate. The party first appeared at a press conference the *barrio* of Lavapies, on January 17th 2014, over two and a half years after the expulsion of 15M from squares all over Spain. The press conference regrouped the academics of the Complutense, alongside members of Izquierda Anticapitalista (seceded from Izquierda Unida in 2008 to form its own party, with limited success, under Miguel Urbán). Much of the support for Iglesias and his collaborators came from activist factions involved in the 15M; both Juventud sin Futuro ('Youth without Future') and the PAH provided an enthusiastic audience for the presentation of the new party (Nez, 2015: 37). Among the figureheads selected by Podemos, representatives of the historic Spanish left- trade unions, communist parties- were conspicuously absent. The party relied on engaged leftist narratives born since the economic crisis of 2008 and bound by shared rejection of austerity practices.

[7] Monedero's resignation came hours after he publicly criticised the interior machinations of Podemos, which 'had grown to resemble the structures which it was created to contest' (El Pais, 'Podemos co-founder resigns from position in anti-austerity party', 30/04/2015).

The timing of Podemos's first public appearance, and then of its registration with the Ministry of the Interior as a party on March 11th 2014, coincide with a strategic electoral period. In the elections following the eventful summer of 2011, the right wing Partido Popular (PP) won access to the head of the Spanish parliament, with Mariano Rajoy replacing PSOE's Zapatero as prime minister. The success of the PP, despite the celebrated 'awakening' in Puerta del Sol and other Spanish cities, forces us to reconsider the immediate electoral effect of 15M. As summised by one political analyst in 2014: 'Spanish voters' reactions to economic crisis have not been uniform; evaluations of the economic situation and final voting decisions [continue to] be conditioned by prior ideological preferences' (Torcal, 2014). The violent popular reaction against austerity and neoliberal hardship was insufficient to break with engrained, historic bipartisanship, even within Spain's precarious classes. The fertile ground of grassroots resistance had not yet coalesced into a coherent political project; and, as has been the case in the ongoing waltz of coalitions, inconclusive elections and re-elections since 2015, Spain's two largest parties benefitted from high abstention levels among the newly politicised, but electorally disillusioned, classes.

Podemos has been credited with a strategic triumph, in timing its first electoral forays with the election of the European Parliament in 2014 (Iglesias, 2015). Five months after its first public steps in Lavapies, the party won 8% of votes at the European election (over 1,2 million voters, Torcal, 2014), gaining five seats at the European level and considerable visibility ahead of the regional elections of 2015.

Ideological backgrounds: a new reading of populism?

Beyond its professed link to the 15M and its connection with local, Spanish activist circles, the ideological impetus behind Podemos holds strong international connections which I shall now outline. These include a European-periphery gaze to other European states suffering austerity; Greece, and Tsipras's party Syriza, provide a discursive background for the party as it reaches beyond its roots in Spanish resistance. Secondly,

and perhaps less obviously, the Complutense founders of the party share an interest in Latin America, and its democratic transformation in the 2000s. I begin by reviewing this framework, before analysing the role that Greece has played in shaping Podemos's position within Europe.

Latin America's renewed engagement with left-wing politics, as a solution to dominance by the US, was cited by the (then future) leaders of Podemos as 'the most potent laboratory of alternative practices to the capitalist crisis' in 2010 (Iglesias and Errejón, 2010: 3). Errejón, in 2012, defended his thesis at the department of political science of the Complutense on the subject of constructing hegemony in Evo Morales' new government in Bolivia. The expertise of Podemos's academic contingent proposes ideological arguments on populism, power and neoliberal contestation, many of which stem from close readings of the Bolivian and Venezuelan situation at the turn of the 21st century. This has led to criticism of the party from the PP and PSOE as 'instigators of a Chavist regime in Spain'. While this thesis cannot presume to argue the personal allegiances of Errejón to Hugo Chavez, it nonetheless can briefly review two key tenets of the Bolivian precedent (as put forth by Errejón)- new readings of populism and of hegemony in the neoliberal context- and consider their impact on the electoral scene into which Podemos entered in 2014. The parallels drawn between the renewal of leftwing policy in Bolivia and the situation in Spain after 2008 rely on similar contexts of economic downturn and of democratic renewal in the face of an invasive foreign power (Errejón, 2012). This outside power for Bolivia is embodied by the United States for the North; in Spain, peripheralisation and subordination are operated by the central powers of the European Troika- a perspective I develop in my review of Podemos's relation to Syriza in Greece. The presence of a Latin American gaze amongst the founding members of Podemos is less developed in their online profiles and media content; yet, with Errejón's background as a communications advisor to Bolivarian regimes, its influence on the party must be considered.

The ideological field in which this is most prominent is the renewed discussion of populism on the left. Errejón, in 2015, co-authored *Construir Pueblo* with Chantal

Mouffe, a prominent scholar and advocate of new readings of populism. The term enjoys a mixed reputation among European scholars, through amalgamations of 'populism' with the rise of the right wing in France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Reading populism from Laclau, Mouffe and Errejón's perspectives, the term moves away from right-wing associations; it designates a discursive construct which organises society into two groups, the 'people' and the 'elite' (Canovan, 1999). Both Errejón, in his speeches, and Mouffe, in her writing, point out that the category of 'the people' cannot be articulated in Europe in the way it has been in Latin American discourse. The 'old left-wing categories of 'working class' and 'socialism' are obsolete [in neo-liberal fields]' and discourses now focus on 'a populism pitting people against elites and creating a radical democracy' (Mouffe, in Judis, 2016: 123). While the category of 'citizens' ('ciudadanos', which is now the name of the party at the helm of Spanish cities including Barcelona) is preferable to 'the people', the binary outlined by Mouffe is evidently paralleled in the anti-austerity movements of 2011, in which disenfranchised individuals across the board of education levels and social origin joined in protest, and re-articulated direct democracy in the square.

Be it expressed in support to left or to right wing parties (previously on the electoral margins), populism 'emerges from a shock to the middle classes' (Judis, 2016). Such a shock is evident in post-crisis Europe, with the Spanish section of construction collapsing with unprecedented impact on service industries across the country. Spain, however, has not seen a tangible rise in its far-right, anti-immigration or anti-EU parties- as has been the case for France, with the Front National coming in second at the 2017 presidential election, or with the rise of UKIP and the 'Brexit' vote in the United Kingdom. Rather, the political articulation of the 'elite-people' binary of populist thought has coalesced into the emergence of a new left which, despite failing to translate into an electoral majority, considerably outweigh any right-wing counterpart. Judis (ibid: 124) proposes that 'left wing populism has flourished in EU countries with less prosperous economies, whereas the right wing alternative is more successful in countries with a strong middle class'. The presence of a powerful middle class, he suggests, is more likely to motivate voters to blame an 'outside' threat to the economy (immigrants puncturing social services) rather

than the inside 'caste', or elite. The rise of Golden Dawn, alongside Syriza, in the economically struggling Greece, tempers the impact of this argument somewhat; but, in the case of Spain, a country suffering both the effect of deep economic crisis, unemployment and a high perception of corruption index, the argument rings true. Podemos, and other emerging parties such as Ahorra Madrid, elaborate on the 15M discourses of naming an elite other as the cause of crises of livelihood. The parties successfully coalesce sentiments of economic hardship into a new reading of the 'populist' model, pitting the victims of austerity against the political class that enable its practices. In power in the municipal seat for Barcelona, the centre-right party Ciudadanos is credited with performing similar disruption on the binary political class, despite its electorate being drawn from centre-right Partido Popular rather than the left-wing PSOE.

The protests of 2011 left a fertile terrain for new political articulations, with 'coalitional politics grounded in diverse people's precarity given their economic marginality' (Butler, in Schram, 2013). On the left and on the right of the Spanish electoral spectrum, this has translated into emerging new parties that recalibrate the unassailable PP and PSOE of the 1990s, furthering the democratic transition of 1975 in the region. By attempting to articulate an ongoing critique of government, Iglesias and his acolytes position themselves on the 'people' or 'citizenry' side of the left-wing populist binary that their academic backgrounds focus upon.

The end of the national rationale: Greece as a trope in the Spanish new left.

Since the rise of Podemos in 2014, the party and its spokespersons have engaged in a system of reference that places Greece, and its new party Syriza, as parallels to the democratic renewal in Spain. The reasoning behind the voluntary perpetuation of such analogies becomes evident, if one considers experience of crisis, austerity and resistance in both countries since 2011.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the lasting effect of crisis has been unevenly felt across Europe. In these 'geographically divergent outcomes', southern European nations- including Spain and Greece- experience longer downturns in employment figures, and longer lasting impact on their industry and buying power that exacerbate the effects of financial crisis (Tsampra, in Clark and Woćjik, 2018; Narotzky and Besnier, 2014). In the context of the Eurozone crisis, concerns around the shared economic space and single-currency of the European Union have brought about centrally imposed sanctions on these most affected regions. Carried out by the Troika (IMF, CEB and EC), these take the tangible form of 'austerity' measures, cuts to state expenditure, as contested in both Puerta del Sol and Syntagma Square (Athens) (Schullen and Müller, 2012). By providing (or imposing) bailouts to southern European countries ridden by debt, the Troika has located the deciding centres for Spain and Greece outside the boundaries of their national governments; 'under [such] pressure, inherent structural weaknesses have been transformed into new patterns that reproduce core-periphery divergence' (Tsampra, 2018: 114). Greece and, to a lesser extent, Spain, having their economic practice placed under tutelage, have become what Herzfeld (2002) coined as 'crypto-colonies', suffering the financial and political effects of Galtung's (1967) 'scientific colonialism'. The centre of gravity for acquiring- and enforcing- knowledge about practice in the European South is relocated to central institutions of the European Union. The forced subordination of poorly-performing economic spaces limits the democratic potential of anti-austerity parties at the level of governance; as is illustrated by Tsipras and Syriza. In June of 2015, the Greeks (encouraged by Tsipras) voted 'No' in a referendum to a third bailout from the Troika, and the enforcement of new sanctions against the country. Despite an numerically significant victory at the referendum, Tsipras nonetheless went on to bow to pressure from central European institutions, accepting another contested bailout package in July of 2015. This juxtaposition- of Greek practices of democratic referendum, and the central organs that overruled them- brings us back to the 'opaque' expertise of neoliberal practice (Brown, 2015), and makes apparent the conditions of peripherality imposed on indebted European nations. Neoliberalism, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, lays claim to rationality, locating the financial centre of European power as the nexus of 'modernity' (Collier, 1997; Knight, 2013). By imposing sanctions (which lead to spending

cuts and austerity), it identifies malpractice and 'occult economies' (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001) as the responsible seeds of debt crisis. As its standards claim to bring these local economies to central European (modern) standards, they recreate a landscape in which corruption, clientelism and malpractice are regional specificities (Schullen and Müller, 2012; Herzfeld, 1987).

Greece is not the only European nation sharing the effects of austerity with Spain; nonetheless, the parallels created by the Troika's regional tutelage have made it a trope (Knight, 2014) for crisis and subordination. The bailout to Spanish banks, in 2012, left the country with more negotiating power than its Greek counterpart (Tsampra, 2018); long term effects show however that it has been insufficient to reverse the effects of crisis on employment and housing in the country. Iglesias, in Spain and Varoufakis, in Greece, both deplored the disciplinary dimension of the austerity caused by bailouts throughout their respective campaigns. Identifying grassroots malpractice as the cause for crisis goes against the ideological alignment of both parties, along a new 'populism' that pits local populations against elites both at home and abroad. In times of austerity, both Syriza and Podemos have denounced local malpractice; but this malpractice is located amongst the governing elite, who 'got fat' on public money (Knight, 2013) rather than in the everyday practices of citizens.

Both countries share a high position on perceived corruption indexes (Nez, 2015). This was addressed in the 2011 protests in both Syntagma Square and in Puerta del Sol; the protests making visible the divide between those experiencing austerity and the perceived complicit political classes enforcing it. These parallels, both in the countries' relations to central European power and in the impact of mass protest on their democratic landscapes, motivate an easterly gaze which has been used by Podemos as both motivational and cautionary, as Syriza struggled to stand up to Troika intervention.

In an article authored for the French monthly *Monde Diplomatique* in July 2015, Pablo Iglesias writes: ' "you want to vote for Podemos? Look at what's happening in Greece!" This is the substance of what [Spanish] people are being told today'. These remarks came

at a time when Tsipras, after failing to defend his referendum on the bailout, signed on for yet more bailout-induced austerity in Greece. In the previous month, Iglesias's twitter account showed a photo of the two men shaking hands, with the caption 'Enhorabuena Syriza! #greciasoyyo' ('Congratulations Syriza! #iamgreece'). Such fluctuations in adhesion to, and voluntary dissociation from, the Greek party in power continue between 2015 and 2016, at the time when Podemos entered the Spanish government as the third power after PP and PSOE. Again on July 6th 2015, Iglesias told the British newspaper *the Guardian*'s Madrid correspondent: 'this is not Greece. Fortunately, we have a stronger administration, and a better economic situation'[8]. In September of the same year, after Tsipras's re-election in a snap election held in Greece, Iglesias tweeted a photo of the Greek prime minister, arms raised, with the caption 'mañana amanecera un día nuevo. Un día que podemos ganar hoy' ('tomorrow a new day will dawn. A day which we can already win today').

The various uses that Podemos have made, in their media coverage and social media, of the Greek situation in Europe, are symptomatic of experiences of neo-liberal governance in the economic periphery. As Kapferer (2010) writes, governance under neo-liberal systems is no longer limited to a Machiavellian power-view founded on territoriality; rather, governance is operated in 'spaces of interes'. States are inscribed within 'corporate state' systems (Kapferer, 2005) and are no longer 'centralising institutions of territorially defined power' (ibid), but are themselves locked in power assemblages that inscribe them in hierarchies and connections beyond their geographic borders. Spain and Greece are both, as I have argued above, inscribed in a 'space of interest' in which they share tropes of subordination to central European decision-making, and of perceived economic malpractice. These spaces of interest subvert the accountability of crisis, placing it not on financial institutions but locally, within poorly performing peripheral economies. The subjectivities created by this subversion, and the austerity and cuts it engenders, explain two phenomena discussed in this section: the outstanding reach of protest in Spain and

[8] Kassam, A. 'Spanish politicians distance themselves from the Euro crisis: 'this isn't Greece', the Guardian international edition, theguardian.com, July 6th 2015.

Greece in 2011, and the left-wing (rather than right-wing in European nations with a stronger middle class) leanings of 'post-crisis' electoral politics.

'Evidently, we are in a campaign that operates at the European level', said Jorge Lago, member of the Podemos citizen council, in June 2015 (Nez, 2015: 234). The councilman, in the same interview, underlined the similarities between Podemos and Syriza's economic policies, and their ideological link to anti-neoliberal protest (but also took care to remind the author of the structural differences, the difference in economic clout, between Spain and Greece). As evidenced by the social media data reviewed in this section, Lago's summary of Syriza-Podemos dynamics is accurate. Greece offers similar articulations of Mouffe and Laclau's left-wing 'people-elite' binary (Stavrakakis and Katzembekis, 2014). Both parties have grown from the rhetoric of discontent with centralised, disciplinary solutions to crisis which breed local austerity, and therefore oppose an 'elite' made up of both a central European government and of its local complicit 'caste' (Iglesias, 2015). In the wake of financial crisis and mass engagement with protests on both sides of the Mediterranean, new left movements are reliant on popular experiences of subordination, as they struggle to unite disparate social movements into meaningful electorates. Podemos's engagement with Greek politics inscribes the new Spanish left, ideologically, outside the bounds of territorial governance, confirming the party's awareness of neo-liberal systems which re-cast nations as 'spaces of interest', sharing the qualities of wealth, resources, infrastucture (Death, 2000)- but also of debt and austerity- which cast them in the periphery (Tsampra, 2018). The protest movements motivated by this subordination of Southern Europe to neo-liberal violence share a coherent message across national bounds. Unlike the protests where it locates its roots, Podemos's identification with Greece is not unconditional. In a malleable, perhaps utilitarian, system of reference to their counterpart in Athens, the leaders of the Spanish new left express the solidarity against violent institutions that is the fabric of 15M; but discourses of 'this is not Greece' construct a hierarchy in Southern European economic suffering, and contribute to further isolate Greece as a 'colony of debt, destined to suffer' (Varoufakis, 2015).

Podemos's ideological engagement, both within Spain and without, has made apparent the following points. Firstly, the party claims an intimate lineage to the protest movements of 2011; 15M provides a 'persuasive story seed' (Carrithers, in Knight, 2013) for the emergence of a new electoral party after mass protests failed to translate into electoral results in 2011. Secondly, the party's academic background allows an informed argument around new left-wing imperatives in global economic systems, as informed by the Latin American case study in Bolivia. Members of Podemos consciously represent a politicised academic circle, in which the impact and meaning of neo-liberalism and resistance are discussed within international frames of reference. The new populist perspectives discussed above pit central European government as the elite, against which the resistant Southern European electorate is constructed as a group. Since Podemos relies on both tropes of Troika as elite, and resistance as citizenry, the parallels to Syriza in Greece are easily drawn.

Despite this threefold construction, and the fertile ground created by discontent and economic downturn between 2008 and 2014, the party has not succeeded in gathering enough electoral clout to access government without signing tenuous coalition agreements with the parties they opposed in their formation. Nez reports, in the conclusion of her 2015 monograph, that membership in Podemos's local circles is dwindling as 'the continuous engagement with decision making and deliberation fizzles out in small communities' (Nez, 2015: 231). Most recently, a scandal surrounding Iglesias and his partner (in the party and in life) Montero's obscure funding of a 600,000 euro home, purchased outside of Madrid, have further shaken the ground beneath Podemos's feet in popular media. The real-estate investment undermines the purposeful lifestyle dissociation from the governmental elite: wearing a ponytail, not abiding by dress codes, continuing to live in the popular area of Vallecas. If confirmed, this rumour will further local claims that resistance cannot accurately transcribe into spheres of government, if its ontological basis is in a refusal of governmental structures and practices. More damaging still, these allegations inscribe Podemos another step away from its anti-corruption, 15M roots, by associating its founding leader with the murky waters of institutionalised Spanish corruption. As this rumour emerged, during the writing-up period of this thesis,

I contacted Helena, a former roommate of mine in Madrid and self-avowed 'ex-activista', about the allegations. 'Well of course this is happening', she replied. 'Didn't they notice his ponytail getting shinier over the years?'.

5. Conclusion

The questions addressed in this chapter were the original impetus behind this research project: to understand how local articulations of crisis, resistance and solidarity were reshaping citizenship in Madrid. As the project matured, it became evident that, though pervasive, economic crisis and resistance alone were insufficient frameworks to understand not only the rise of 15M, but its ultimate limitations too. Further argument in this thesis will address the complex subjectivities which make up Madrileño protest and resistance, which predate than 2008 and outreach the immediate loci of activism. Nonetheless, in order to discuss the limits of neo-liberal crisis to explain social movements in 2011 Madrid, it was first necessary to review their causes and, indeed, considerate impact.

This chapter first set out to unpack meanings of neo-liberalism and crisis, as they are understood both within social sciences and locally in the field. A review of these two concepts shows, in the light of the 2011 mass protests in Madrid, their prevalence in the formative discourses that brought about the occupation of Puerta del Sol (and beyond, in Spain, Southern Europe and the United States), and in the founding ideological statements of parties claiming roots in the 15M. We must therefore address a discrepancy: while the experiences of austerity and crisis were not greatly reduced in Spain after 2011 (with unemployment among the young continuing to rise and precarious employment and housing still rife), the new parties on the left that held ideological roots in the 15M failed to translate into a sufficient majority to claim government without tense and complex coalitions with the old Left and PSOE. The elections held the soonest after 15M radicalised the nation's view of participation and protest saw the centre-left lose power,

and the voting in of a PP majority which enforced a bailout and further austerity in 2012. The electricity of 15M, still tangible among a remaining activist core, had been insufficient to sway pre-contructed ideological tendencies in a disenfranchised population (Torcal, 2014). These 'prior ideological preferences' are a first door to push to understand the limits of economics and crisis to explain the resistant scene in Madrid, in and since 2011. I unpack these in the following chapters, honing in on the socio-historic divides that have outweighed neo-liberal violence in elections and resistant politics. The economic crisis of 2008, its austerity, reshuffling of the middle class, and the protests it engendered, are all insufficient to fully explain the resistant landscapes of Madrid; they cannot adequately account for the fluctuations in urban resistance since 2011.

In a second section, this chapter has reached into a retrospective analysis of the protest in Puerta del Sol, focusing on the tropes of solidarity, spontaneity and direct democracy that formed it as a social experiment in Madrid. A retrospective overview, of a month-long event that has been the fodder itself of many studies, can increase its focus on the disbanding of the tents and *asembleas*. This disbanding, one month after the original occupation of the square, has shown how urban resistance was progressively returned to marginality; the discursive shift towards cleanliness, urban safety and loss of revenue emerge as the Puerta del Sol is cleared. These concerns are structural, practical, and echo Foucauldian 'governmentality', 'pathologising' resistance (Theodossopoulos, 2014a) as unsafe, unsanitary and marginal. 'Utopias aren't made like this, at midnight', said one middle-aged madrileña interviewed by El País in June 2011. Once the original 'effervescence' (arguably Durkheimian) of the 15M occupation settled into unresolved, ongoing discussion, the semantics of 'utopias at midnight', of ineffectual organisation and poor accountability, overtook the prerogatives of solidarity and social justice promoted by the 15M.

In the third and final part of the chapter, I reviewed whether, despite these limitations on the ground, 15M can be said to have grown successfully into the field of electoral politics, namely through Podemos. While my argument is that the party struggles on two levels, both to reconcile the Indignados ideologies with a transition to government institutions,

and to gather sufficient electoral momentum to avoid coalitions, I must temper these critiques. Associate parties of Podemos- including Ciudadanos and Ahora Madrid- won significant mayoral victories in 2015. The decline of established parties PP and PSOE at the local level created a breach in which citizen's platforms successfully 'fragmented' their way to power in both Madrid and Barcelona (Rodon and Hierro, 2016). These parties have succeeded electorally where the traditional far-left had not since the democratic transition; Iglesias refers to the current electoral context as 'something operating in the magma; something that makes people see a guy with a ponytail on TV and listen to him'.[9]

But despite successful fragmentation of the bipartite system (still) in power in Spain, I temper the success of the young party in relation to the question here: does it effectively operate an electoral transition of the resistant discourse and operations of 15M? I find this to be an incomplete success. Arguably, the trope of non-alignment (so dear to Stephane, the documentary maker and record-keeper of 15M) can be preserved, since Podemos was not in existence to be turned away from Sol in 2011. In practice though, Iglesias's team's trajectory has forced the party into coalitions with the parties openly criticised by the movement. As local governments become increasingly subject to centralised economic imperatives, it is the structure of European governance, not just of Syriza and Podemos, that limits the effective transition of resistance into political representation.

Some excellent ethnographies of the crisis and its experiences have identified tangible continuity between neo-liberal economics, crisis, experiences of austerity, resistance, and democratic renewal. This chapter has not argued that such progressions are false or inadequate; indeed, they can be mapped onto the case of Madrid. I do however argue that they are ineffective to explain the full dynamics behind contemporary Madrileño resistance, both active and tacit, and to approach changes in local electoral politics from grassroots perspectives.

[9] Agence France Presse, 'Espagne: Iglesias, le professeur qui bouleverse l'échiquier politique', in Le Point, lepoint.fr, 12/02/2017.

Chapter Four

Edifiers and Audiences: tracing the production and dissemination of resistant discourse in contemporary Madrid

Abstract:

The dynamics of participation in protests in Madrid, in the past decade, suggest that spontaneous grassroots discontent cannot account singlehandedly for resistance in the city. This chapter explores the narratives and discourses that were mobilised in 15M, and continue to appear sporadically across the city in today's reduced climate of activism. Specific focus is on the actors who produce, promote and perpetuate the tropes of Madrileño resistance. The ethnographic study of producers and disseminators of discourse, methodologically, resembles a historiography of resistance as it is written and articulated. I analyse the rhetoric, the types of knowledge, and the audiences at play throughout case studies of 'edifiers' in the field. I argue that local edifiers produce narratives and discourses, which are then shared, creating a set of aesthetic and

ideological categories into which actors can readily assimilate themselves to perform resistance.

1. Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed articulations of 'spontaneity' as they were portrayed and utilised in the 15M, becoming a founding myth for the movement's political legacy. But, even within the discussion of spontaneity and inclusivity as it unfolded in 2011, there are hints to a pre-existing order of discourses, codes, and methods of protest available to the newly politicised *Indignados*; this chapter investigates this order, and its production, further, to establish what role those who produce resistant narratives play in pre-constituting a resistant category for actor to adhere to.

The titular 'edifiers' refer to an unbound collective of individuals and associations who, by means of self-publication, verbal communication, and visual impact, contribute to the authorship of resistant discourses in the city. In this chapter, I review the narratives produced by these edifiers, alongside interview data in which they, as participants, are led to an 'ego-histoire' (Nora, 1989) reflection on their cultural production and on their own position as edifiers within a generation. While Nora's methodology is originally aimed at historians and the production of history (Kattago, 2015: 3), I argue that the knowledge of our ethnographic subjects can be advanced by applying a similar method to the voices and texts that actors read, hear and are exposed to as they construct local understandings of resistance.

The ethnographic research for this chapter, therefore, follows the immersive uncovering of tropes, texts and subtexts of resistance over my two years of living in Madrid. While the participants cited here cannot conceivably make up a comprehensive sample of all subaltern voices and authors in the city, I argue that the lived experience of sampling-discovering texts and content through informal networks and everyday immersion in the

city- is conducive to analysis of how meanings of resistance are built and reinforced at the grassroots level. Subsequently, and wherever possible, I have followed the threads of slogans, publications, protests actions to their sources; this chapter reviews the ensuing data gathered in interviews with journalists, film-makers, bloggers, teachers, historians and non-fiction writers who have been involved in discourse production in Madrid between 2015 and 2018. The interviews originally focused on retrospectives of the 15M and its impact; the socio-historic and rhetorical arguments made in this chapter are all born of data which outgrew the original research focus and contribute to shape this thesis's focus, on a new analysis of crisis protest in light of collective memory.

Since spontaneity cannot be held wholly accountable for the scale and reach of 15M (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015), 'edifiers' on the margins operate to motivate, bind and inform the occasional participants in resistance, those which made up crowds of tens of thousands in 2011 and have since retreated into non- or occasional-activism. The authorship of texts, which are frequently self-published, muddies the comfortable binaries of power within which we study resistance. The 'hidden transcripts' that provided basis for much post-colonial study of discontent are not merely in everyday actions of individual defiance; they are elevated to the status of knowledge production and publication, rendering more complex the media-scapes and narratives which victims of crisis use to articulate their subaltern position. The blog posts, newspaper articles, street art, graffiti, lectures and speeches reviewed in this chapter bring to light an elite *within* the subaltern; local, politicised, resistant actors producing and disseminating texts which conflict with the power structures they oppose. As the argument develops, the term 'edifier' is preferred to 'elite', since references to the *casta*, the political and economic elite holding power over the lives of local people, are ubiquitous amongst edifier discourses. The semantic choice is made to avoid confusion; nevertheless, let me assert here that these edifiers *do* take on the role of an 'elite' within resistant circles, inasmuch as they hold higher influence and power than their audiences. Unlike the neo-liberal elite that 15M vehemently opposed, edifier's power does not stem from their wealth or prestige positions, but from their practice of knowledge and their engagement with its dissemination; they are 'elites' only in terms of their visibility to other local actors. I qualify as 'edifier' in this chapter any

actor who produces texts or content engaged with resistant ideologies, which are re-circulated by activist associations on social media. Access to edifiers is attained by following the networks of reference on social media, or in urban activist locales, to the original authors; in a sense, the readership, in ICTs, provides the trail to the producer. I develop the identification of edifiers further in section 1 of the chapter.

In the political and economic context of Spain within the Eurozone crisis, central organisms (such as the IMF, the CEB and the European Commission) have operated a centralisation of economic knowledge and deciding power, outside of the borders of Spanish territory (see chapters 1 and 3). In this context of peripheralisation and separation of expert from local knowledge, edifiers perform a subversion of centralised power by promoting local knowledge constructions. By utilising ICTs and bypassing institutional media, they construct alternative landscapes of reference for Spanish citizens. Their texts frequently highlight the inadequacy of national press and media at providing objective reviews of political resistance and alternatives, as they are painted as complicit to the powers that Spanish resistance commonly opposes. Their grassroots production of content forces us to consider questions of reliability, attractiveness, and virality of narratives, for both the political self as author and their audience.

The production of local knowledge, against centralised discourses of the political caste, is also grounds for considering 'indigenous' knowledge in the context of peripheral Europe. This chapter considers the weight of indigeneity in discourses produced by edifiers in a twofold approach: first, by considering the rhetorical weight of lived experience, genealogical memory and indigenous grassroots knowledge amongst Spanish producers of discourse; secondly, by reviewing the key role that foreign authors and ideologues have played in constructing Spanish resistant tropes in the twentieth century. Since international inference in the political struggles of left-wing Spain in the 1930s, foreign (European and American) authors and artists have constituted a voice that defines and situates resistance in Spain. I review, in parts 3 and 4 of this chapter, how these foreign narratives contribute to a romanticisation of Spanish resistance through socio-historic aesthetics, effectively immobilising the impact of transformative protest in the

present day. These arguments contribute to strongly held tropes of historic injustice as they are articulated locally; edifiers in Madrid engage in reference systems that set accountability and social injustice in terms of the incomplete projects of amnesty and reconciliation (Aguilar, 2002) which make up Spain's twentieth-century trajectory. I argue that their voices and their audiences make up a crux of power and knowledge negotiations, in a political climate where collective memory is brokered by leading parties.

The chapter proceeds along four sections. First, I review the ethnographic implications of 'studying sideways' (Hannerz, 2002), and how ethnographic writing of participants who can and do self-represent can be co-authored, alongside a detailed review of their impact on local audiences. Following this, a second section traces how identifying and finding local edifiers can inform the ethnographer on the underlying networks and hierarchies within resistance. A focus on the audiences and readings of their narratives establishes how much impact resistant authors have, beyond the effervescence of mass protest and 15M. The third section hones in on the concepts of power and knowledge at play within these networks of edifier and audience. I focus on Geertz's reading of history and anthropology and the production of subaltern voices (1990), on Fabian's 'question of knowledge' within anthropology (2012) and on Hastrup's (1992) review of dominant convention in historic discourse, to examine what constitutes belief, knowledge and resistance in edifier discourses. This section introduces the first emergence of the socio-historic into resistance theory in Spain. Finally, the fourth section focuses directly on textual analysis of rhetoric and the attractiveness of resistant discourses produced at the grassroots. I review questions of reliability, memory, lived experience and emotive 'othering' in the narratives produced by those participants who make up the ethnographic fabric of the chapter.

I conclude, from this analysis, that the existence of a sub-stratum of edifiers drives and shapes narratives of discontent in Madrid. By studying their production alongside their own reflexive voices on their authorship, I argue that these edifiers create a set of aesthetic, ideological and discursive tools which local actors can readily utilise to assert

their positionality as resistants. This in turn hinders the transformative potential of resistance by setting it in pre-existing narratives.

2. The ethnographic implications of studying edifiers and audiences in the field.

A review of the anthropology of resistance, as for instance the one conducted in the introduction of this thesis, shows a predominant concern within the discipline with 'resistance' as it emerges from grassroots in post-colonial communities. This impetus is well understandable when we consider anthropology's original ties to, and active critique of, the colonial context (Malinowski, 1924; Leach, 1954, 19; Abu-Lughod, 1990). The continued focus on grassroots subaltern voices in studies of resistance in western, post-industrial societies is, however, problematic on a number of levels. By setting our ethnographic sights only on the voices the disenfranchised and the 'weapons of the weak' (as Scott's foundational text on resistance put it), we risk overlooking local appropriations of power, expert re-workings of ideology, and the self-awareness of resistance in local contexts. I consider these issues in analysis of Madrileño resistance through the unpacking of a fairly unremarkable occurrence in protest.

In May of 2016, I was walking in Callao amongst the gathering crowd for a march called by the collective 22M (22 de Marzo, March 22), covering a spectrum of demands including the non-repayment of Spanish debt to the IMF, the improvement of pensions, freedom of expression, under the broad banner of '*pan, trabajo, techo y dignidad'* ('bread, jobs, roofs and dignity') and '*por una rebelión democrática en los pueblos de Europa'* ('for a democratic uprising by the people of Europe') . The call to march had been circulated the previous weeks, both in A5 sized flyers glued around the train station of Atocha and the neighbouring *barrio* of Lavapies, and collectives' social media pages (I personally first heard of the march, since my research led me to 'follow' a number of such collectives, via the platform of Facebook). The crowd gathered progressively around a

small raised stage in Plaza Callao, the capital's cinematic centre off of Gran Via which, when not the stage for protests of austerity, famously hosts glamorous film premieres. At the entrance of a narrow street behind the cinema, metal barriers had been raised, ostensibly to prevent traffic from circulating near the march, behind which five policemen of the Guardia Civil in black uniforms, armed but without their riot helmets, gathered on the pavement talking amongst themselves and watching the proceedings. It was this barrier that was the site of a fairly unremarkable moment of friction, around 30 minutes after the march was due to depart toward Sol. Four young men, hard to identify further due to their dress (three of them wore hooded sweaters, the fourth a hooded rain jacket) turned off the busy pavements of Sol, walked along the outer edge of the crowd, increased their pace as they approached the metal barrier, which two of them then pushed loudly whilst another threw a metal can forcibly at a public bin on the pavement across from the gathered Guardia Civil. They then rapidly skirted the square, rejoined a larger group before turning right on the pedestrian Calle Preciados, where they briefly tried to instigate a chant of '*Policía, Asesína'* ('Police, Assassins') before moving out of sight. Andrea, a student from the Complutense who was with me on this instance of fieldwork, appeared at that moment and said dismissively: 'Agh- always the same ones', before turning to introduce me to some of her fellow activists.

Andrea's brief remark forms part of a commonplace infuriation of protesters with 'the same ones'- 'they are *provocateurs*, as you would say', she later told me. 'They think- I don't know, they're bored, they think they can make the news like those ones a few years ago. They can't really read the situation though- that we are non-violent, that our strength is being non-violent, that this is how we beat them [the police]'. I use this brief vignette- not of an extraordinary moment in the protests I attended during fieldwork- as a jumping off point for the epistemological argument for analysing local producers of discourse and their impact on resistance. Andrea's explanation, at first glance, shows exasperation with the incongruous (to her) violence of a small disruptive contingent, and a professed ethic of non-violence. Beyond this, her ready remark of 'always the same ones' suggests a discursive category built around these disruptive actors, through which protesters can refer to them without naming or qualifying their behaviour. By studying 'edifiers', the

authors and makers of the content to which participants are exposed and which they themselves re-circulate and re-enact, we can bring ethnographic analysis to bear on the codes and canons which make up the shorthand of resistance amongst their audiences.

Placing 'edifiers' in anthropological epistemology

The logic defended in this chapter follows the epistemology put forth by Hannerz (1998, 2002) of 'studying sideways'- that is, approaching the complexity of the modern urban field site by practicing ethnography amongst those participants whose capacity and potential for self-expression and publication match our own as researchers. The phrasing of 'studying sideways' stems from disciplinary concerns with the politics of 'studying down', in anthropology's early forays into representing participants economically and politically subordinated in the decolonised 'south'. Speaking within ongoing debates about the positionality of the anthropologist, Hannerz suggests studying 'sideways' as an ethical means to represent actors in modern, urban, Western settings, by avoiding the hierarchical representation brought by the idea of 'studying down' to populations set as 'other', in Fabian's sense of time, modernity and development (Fabian, 1983). When anthropology, in the 1970s (pioneered by Nader's essay *Up the Anthropologist,* in 1972), became concerned with 'studying up' and the ethnographic analysis of power brokers in the West, ethnographic practice took new focus on the wealthy and well-represented. Nader's article is a call for the study of bankers, politicians, corporate executives, and has been followed up by ethnographies of scientists and technologists (cf. Helmreich, 2009, or Saxenian, 2007, on the 'new argonauts' of Silicon Valley).

'Studying sideways' most adequately represents daily realities in the modern urban settings, avoiding polarising perspectives the wealthy expert and the disenfranchised subject. In the context of urban Spanish resistance, 'studying sideways' can be achieved by researching, beyond participant observation in protests, the experienced local texts which 'make knowledge about how other people make knowledge' (the 'core activity of anthropology' according to Marchant, 2010, in Fabian, 2012). A purely participant observation approach to Andrea's dismissiveness would focus on her othering of violent

contingents, and her own belief system in the effectiveness of orderly protest; searching for the edifiers behind these widely held discourses broadens the practice of empirical enquiry to allow for emic hierarchies of knowledge, belief and resilience to emerge. By dismissing violent action, she in fact engages with the wider aesthetic of non-violence supported ideologically by a number of edifiers whose texts are heard, viewed and shared by resistants. The epistemological choice of seeking out the source- the blog author, the historian, the spoken activist- allows a task of 'ego-histoire' to take place at the participant's level. I take this methodology beyond Nora's (1989) bounds of the historian and present self-analyses by edifiers of their own positionality, motivations and limitations.

By producing texts both out of and directed at discontented resistant groups, edifiers articulate Carrither's (2009) rhetorical 'agency-cum-patiency'- the impact of the text on both its producer and ts intended audience- not between the traditionally recognised strata of power, but within the disenfranchised group itself, bringing to light hierarchies within hierarchies. In sections 2 and 3 of this chapter, on audiences and knowledge within resistant circles, I consider further the impact that edifier discourses have on actors' positions within resistance. The narratives that they produce are vulnerable texts, as they create feedback between authors and audiences that opens them to misinterpretation and incompleteness. To illustrate this point, let me look ahead into a semiotic study made in chapter 6: that of the red, yellow and purple flag of the Second Republic, overthrown by Franco in 1936-1939. As I came across it near-constantly, and in various contexts during fieldwork, a number of story-nodes about its origin arose. 'It is, they say, the Spanish flag of the Bourbons- the one we have now, with the red stripe on the bottom- but during the early rebellion the bottom got dragged through mud and water for so long that the old dye discoloured into purple, and that is how it became the Republican flag', goes one. 'It was the monarchist flag outside the palace when the Republicans came together to take power', says another, 'and the men lined up and pissed on it- so much that the dye of the red, with the reaction, turned purple'. Both of these are narratives of the flag told to me by activists in the city; the first, at an interview with a local historian (he cited his as rumour), the second, in a more casual dining setting, by an activist and stall-salesman (of the veracity

of his version, he said, '*Claro!*', 'Of course!', and the laugh from our table allowed me to speculate a shared ironic level of understanding). Neither of these story-seeds is verifiably untrue- it is in fact possible that at the time Primo de Rivera's government was overthrown in 1930, a flag did drag in the mud and alter its lower colour scheme. It is not impossible that elsewhere at the same epoch, the flag of the monarchy was urinated upon by some ideological republicans, although for the ensuing chemical reaction I cannot attest. Regardless, the relevance of this vignette lies in the gaps, rumours and inconsistencies that narratives suffer as they are spread horizontally within resistant groups, and how these incomplete or unverified tropes make up local meaning. Incomplete meaning at the very origin of the flag makes it necessarily open to interpretation by the actors who utilise its symbolism; I develop this further in chapter 6.

I once asked my informant Daniel, an active member of the communist party (PCE) and of the Friends of North Korea collective, and prolific political blogger, whether he believed the history of communism in the twentieth century to be verifiably, knowably positive. 'Belief and knowledge', he said, 'aren't always different in what I do. What I do is propaganda. I promote an alternative message to what we are force fed by all sides in this country, I want to talk to people who think like me, or people who don't know what they think yet but are *hartos* [fed up, exhausted]'. His self-aware blurring of belief and archival history are an ethnographic text about the very content that he produces, which in turn are consumed and shared by a readership inclined to activism (or at least following activist pages on social media). Local truths are made up of the 'persuasive fictions' (Strathern, 1987) as well as lived experiences, in which shared belief and personal experience mutually inform one another in resistant landscapes.

Geertz, in 1990, commented on the 'profound cultural discontinuity between intruder and intruded-upon [in colonial contexts], which deepens as their relationship intensifies' (Geertz, 1990: 327). I will now use this comment on cultural discontinuity to analyse the weight of 'indigeneity' as articulated by edifiers. This question applies to the inference of foreign edifiers into Spanish resistance, which is analysed across instances in the 20th century; secondly, I review how 'indigenous' positionality amongst resistant edifiers breaks down the fabric of the nation or territory, binding 'indigenous' narratives of resistance as pertaining to the disenfranchised republican 'half' of the *dos españas.* Edifiers are key informants and actors on both fronts of this question.

The peripheral subjectivities rekindled by the 2008 debt crisis, and the interference of central European organs with local southern policy, have brought matters of regional self-awareness to the fore in Spain and in other nations affected by bailouts (Castañeda, 2012; Knight, 2015; Pipyrou, 2014). Geertz's 'cultural discontinuity between intruder and intruded-upon' can be read in local resistant narratives reclaiming sovereignty over Spanish public spending. In the episode analysed earlier, at the beginning of the May 2016 march in Callao, the branch of the protest that I found myself in had a specific debate focus on these questions. The announcement for the march stated that 'a fourth column will leave from Callao, under the slogan "No to debtocracy, to the TTIP and tax havens"' (another column, marching from the north in Calle Alcalá, was manned by workers of the Fuenlabrada Coca-Cola factory and marched under the banner of 'Against Austericide'). As relationships between EU and Troika inference and Spanish sovereign economics deepen, and austerity measures continue without solving unemployment and precarity (see chapters 1 and 3), these slogans in urban protest highlight the 'cultural discontinuity' between an invisible, corporate operating centre and disenfranchised local actors, ranging from the economics professor in Callao to the Coca-Cola factory worker in Alcalá.

This is a conclusion that can be drawn from participant observation in protest, and has indeed been thoroughly reviewed in recent ethnographies of crisis and resistance (Knight, 2015; Schram, 2013; Theodossopoulos, 2014b). The seeking out of binding, incomplete narratives and their producers (as addressed in the previous section) hones in, to reveal a

second crucial reading of Geertz's 'cultural discontinuity', which operates within the social strata discontented Spanish actors. The ethnographic study of edifiers shows that the resistant narratives since 2011, in response to a European and global crisis of economic sovereignty, utilise rhetorical tools consistent with those formulated by the 'vanquished' half of the country since the ousting of the Republic in 1939. 'Indigeneity' then has two readings: firstly, resistant actors performing their national 'indigenous' sovereignty against a European deciding power; secondly, these same actors claiming 'indigenous' belonging to a genealogical group of subalterns in the country, whose ideologies they knowingly or unknowingly re-articulate in their resistance.

While I return to this point in section 3 of this chapter, 'indigeneity' offers another interesting methodological perspective while focusing on edifiers. As a solution to 'the problems of studying Europe as she becomes more and more interconnected and mobile' (Hannerz, 2002), a focus on producers of content lets us consider the interconnected urban fieldsite, and consider the impact of local actors regardless, in fact, of their localness. For instance, of the nine edifiers of resistant content in Madrid whom I include in this chapter, three are 'Madrileños' by birth, two are recent Spanish migrants to Madrid (less than three years), one is a long term Spanish migrant from the nearby city of Cuenca but still refers to himself as *cuencano*; two are long-term British migrants and one is French. The method with which I approach their role in protest and resistance (by identifying meaningful and frequently shared memes and tropes of narrative in online and public spaces) classes them as 'local' actors despite these discrepancies of origin. Their 'insider' positionality is maintained, reflecting the mobility and interconnectedness that Hannerz's Europe must grapple with.

The methodological impetus behind the focus on 'edifiers' broadens both our views of subjects and of source matter- it allows for secondary, authored texts to be treated ethnographically without losing sight of subtleties of meaning and lived experience. In a time of self-publication and online audiences, we must look to those actors utilising these tools to shape or perpetuate the narratives that our participants use in their daily performances. As a creative community stemming from the grassroots, rather than from

above, these edifiers construct and maintain the set of tools which partial or new resistants pick up to make their ideological landscapes. They create, in a sense, tradition (a concept which I review, alongside authenticity, in chapter 5) for the new generation *'despierta'*- awoken- by crisis.

3. Edifiers and their Audiences

At the start of my fieldwork, I found myself in the very position of 'audience' to a set of cultural memes, codes and discourses, that punctuated the online spaces of resistant groups and also the physical, urban protests of Madrid. This section on the co-constructive exchange between audience and edifier is therefore, in some measure, auto-ethnographic. The texts I refer to were accessed by me as through the same means they are available to the local Madrileño who has an access point, through social networks, to the canon of memes and tropes circulated within resistant circles. They are frequently recognisable by their aesthetics: the colours or the star of the republic features on the avatars of many online collectives; the rhetoric used in titles often include the hashtag symbol, which, beyond its use on Twitter, references the virality and horizontality of protest since 2011; finally, the texts usually 'name a wrong' signaling positionality on a perceived binary of both power and morality. My primary online and, later, 'physical' field site- it yielded the highest rate of response and interview participation from its administrators and authors- was the Facebook group *Contra la Impunidad del Franquismo* ('Against the impunity of Francoism'). At the time of accessing this group, I had no plan to particularly focus my research on socio-historic claims in resistance; my initial contact with the group was made by following a thread of comments on the public page of DRY, in which the administrators of CIF used the Republican trope of *No Pasarán* ('They will not pass', see chapter 5 for further review) to contest the continued power of the Partido Popular in the government. This access to what became a formative group of participants in this thesis was achieved through the open public nature of shared online content; by tailoring my own 'media-scape' (Appadurai, 1990) as researcher to focus on resistant groups in Madrid,

I was able to access both the texts that make up everyday discourse and, meeting their authors in physical interviews, broaden my participant base not just to the audience of this content but to its active promoters.

Teacher, Writer, Blogger, DRY: finding edifiers in the field

Unless specified otherwise (as was the case for Stéphane, the film-maker previously mentioned in chapter 3), the participants in this section have been anonymised. This is not a self-evident ethical measure in the study of public authors, speakers and online publishers, who often do not disguise their identity in their own writing. Since this is a group of participants that is able to self-represent to a wide audience (and which, for some participants, have been asked to review draft sections of this thesis for accuracy), being represented in a doctoral thesis poses fewer ethical qualms than it might for disenfranchised populations. Nonetheless, anonymity has been preserved, but in this instance perhaps more for ethical consistency than ethical concern. I name two participants: film maker Stéphane Grueso and author Marisa de la Peña, with their consent, as I consider their public personality status within their fields to be of interest to the argument.

Appadurai's mediascapes have proven to be visionary in terms of online networks since 2011, and the possibility for mass horizontal sharing they provide (along with, in recent years, the risks to privacy that they present). Out of nine edifiers interviewed for this section, six relied solely on online spaces to publish and circulate their material (including the documentary-maker, whose projects are crowd-funded and released online); Marisa, a 51 year old teacher from Joaquín Vilumbrales, a middle-class neighbourhood in the south of Madrid's outer rim, participated actively in writing online pieces (publishing on average two a week, ongoing at the time of writing) but had also published collections of poems in a small press in Valladollid; the final two, both British expatriates, one a former banker turned historian and one local anglophone journalist, relied primarily on print press and journalism for the diffusion of their content. This tip of the scales towards

online spaces follows the growth of new social media and ICTs in which self-publication can gather momentum unprecedented in the pre-screen days of activism. 'I started this out when I finished college, it was something to do while I was unemployed and my *asociación* in my neighbourhood wasn't so great- and it was like 'oh I can put links to my blog, my essays and my photos of Madrid on Facebook and, maybe my mom will read them! But you know, I had maybe 600 friends on there, and if they repost and I get more hits from more people... all just by a link'. This is how Andrea, the 26 year old graduate of the Complutense, began her online dissemination. She had expanded into a second blog, which moved away from denouncing social injustice (primarily evictions) and focused on popular history and historic photographs of Madrid; she hoped to sell advertising space and wanted to start writing in English as well as Castilian. The growth of her blog reflects the rapid circulation of media, tailored to audiences' preference since it stems from their own social circle. Andrea's reflective thoughts on her dissemination strategy frame it as accidental, a pleasant side-effect of a hobby during unemployment.

David, the British banker-turned-historian and former Labour activist in the UK, was an accidental ethnographic encounter. Eager to broaden my horizons from punctual urban protests, three months into my fieldwork, I took a walking tour of Madrid's civil war locations on the recommendation of a contact at the local American university. David, the guide, provided these tours to order and his website billed him as a 'local historian and expert'. Over the course of six interviews in the next year, he provided gate-keeper access to local associations of collective memory with direct ties to Podemos (his partner in his tourist venture was married to a Podemos deputy). I include him in the position of 'edifier' since his publications are two-fold, including two English language books on the Civil War (of which I saw second-hand copies twice in bookstores in Lavapies and Callao, despite not being widely printed) and online activism. His online output in 2016 focused primarily on presenting the success of Corbyn in the UK as a potential model for a new Spanish left. The narratives were exclusively published in the English language. In our first formal interview in March 2016, he said that 'it might in fact be easier for expatriates to write about collective history in Spain- because it is still so divisive and politicised locally. If you write about the Republic as an Brit, you're an historian- if you write it as a

Spaniard, you are a partisan.' His perspective was that the ongoing indigenous contest for memory and recognition influenced both the authorship and audience of texts on resistance in the twentieth century.

Edifiers were therefore most frequently identified through their online or published texts, and traced back to for in person interviews. This method shares some qualities with snowball sampling- allowing an initial contact to develop and deepen into its social web- however, there is an intentional artifice to the ethnographic project of seeking out and meeting authors, where local actors would merely be exposed to their narratives in the immediacy of their mediascapes. This choice is made to best investigate the gaps in knowledge and the incomplete or 'inchoate' (Carrithers, 2008) produced by the less-visible hierarchies within the 'solidarity' of protest.

Edifiers' self-appraisal of their motivations

Since they act within circles of resistance, there is a necessary ideological element to the motives each edifier has to dedicate time to the production of content for an online or public audience. Beyond initial ideological identification with the tropes of resistance outlined in chapters 1 and 3, the informants reported motivation taken from lived experience, which differs between cases.

Expatriate edifiers' motivation to produce narratives on local resistance stems, much like the ethnographers', from an outsider's perspective on the incompleteness of Spanish social amnesty and the specific 'colour' of local resistance. 'It's interesting to consider it local 'colour', because there actually *is* a colour for it [in local discourses]. When you talk about *rojos* [reds] here, it has a symbolic meaning that's specific to the country. Say it in England or back in the US, it brings up the Cold War. But here, at least to me, it's so evocative of the struggle in the streets in Barcelona, the fight up in the mountains- the

classic photo, you know, of the young woman with her bandolier[10]. The great injustices that have been suffered by the Left here' (David, October 2018). The informant here, by outlining his own perspective on Spanish exceptionality in twentieth century resistance, mobilises tropes of American and British classics of literature about Spain. As I recorded his narrative, I myself was put in mind of both Hemingway's *For whom the bell tolls* (1940) and Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938). A recent re-edition of the latter is peppered with footnotes of letters by the author who, after original publication, returned in later editions to correct the occasionally jumbled impressions of the text. In a list of errata, he mentions the complexity of flags and insignia which make up some of the fabric of chapters 5 and 6. After recording in the original 1938 text that 'the Fascists usually flew the monarchists flag (red-yellow-red) but they occasionally flew the flag of the Republic (red-yellow-purple), Orwell adds the asterisk 'Am not now completely certain that I ever saw Fascists flying republican flag, though I *think* they sometimes flew it with a small imposed swastika' (Orwell, 1986). These edits have not impacted the lasting clout of these narratives in shaping local vistas of the past in Madrid. 'I am changing my approach', I said (not for the first time) to an American friend who had been living in Madrid since 1992; 'I think I need to look further into Francoism and Republicanism'. She enthusiastically nodded, saying 'yes- you must! It's so Hemingway [exaggerated sigh]'. The presence of a shared literary background forms a platonic ideal for local constructions of *rojos* amongst local anglophone actors in Madrid- an immutable form grounded in the personal accounts of celebrated International Brigades authors. This engenders a romanticised extension to the original ideological impetus; effectively, it casts local and modern day resistance in the light of a romanticised literary set of tropes. At the Madrileño, this plays directly into what Theodossopoulos argues is 'exoticising and pathologising resistance': 'imagining resistance as stemming from a world exterior to power' (the historic past), 'degrading it as idealistic but naive, daring but temporary' (Theodossopoulos, 2014a). Orwell in 1938, in the opening lines of the tenth chapter of *Homage to Catalonia*, writes: 'it was difficult to think about this war in quite the same naïvely idealistic manner as before' (Orwell, 1986: 132).

[10] The photograph referenced by the participant is commonly seen on book covers and posters. See fig. 4.1, Appendices.

A different self-appraisal of motivations emerges from native Spanish informants (either native to Madrid or, in the case of Ignacio, a bookshop owner and Andrea, the blogger, in-migrants from the neighbouring provinces of Castilla-la-Mancha and Léon). Maria, the poet/literature teacher from Joaquín Vilumbrales, defined the impetus behind her politically engaged poetry as inherited. During the course of our early interviews, she provided me with a family history with particular focus on her grandmother and great aunt, and their trajectories after their mother became what she referred to as 'the disappeared' of the Republican side. 'From my comfortable life now, I really need to connect with that side of my mother's life. Of course now, the protagonists are dead, but it is such a big part of understanding my mother still. Of course it's political- all literature is political- but I write out of love too, for my family. I love the women I work with too! [in the collective *Contra la Impunidad del Franquismo]'*. During another conversation a year later, we were discussing her professional life at the secondary school; I asked about her students, aged between 16 and 18, reactions to twentieth century Spanish literature. 'I think there's an easy path for them to approach these questions of justice and injustice when we study literature. We look at the artists, Picasso, at Camus, at Orwell; at García-Lorca, of course! and they can see that all of these thinkers tend to end up on the same side. You don't need to influence their thought- they pick up on it alone'. Marisa, in these two separate excerpts, locates the tropes and narratives of resistance which she produces alongside authoritative lived experience (her genealogy) and authoritative literary texts. One or both of these thematics is shared by all the Spanish edifiers whom I interviewed; Ignacio insisted I read a book he had researched on his great-grandfather's experience of the war as a politician; Daniel, who self-identified as Stalinist, frequently linked his activity in Madrid to the writings of the Russian communist canon.

The final motivation to produce politically engaged content that emerged significantly in interviews was the attractiveness of network and belonging. 'There is an ecosystem of the Left in this town', said Stéphane Grueso- by which he refered to a small contingent of weathered activists, whose activities both online and in the city frequently brought them together in networks. 'I am not nearly as engaged as, say, the guys who run the radio

AgoraSol- now, those people are heroes. But even I know everyone in the ecosystem- I think I must know everyone'. Even edifiers who work privately- Serena, a former 15M participant, runs her blog (denouncing governmental failures in Madrid, with a current focus on the treatment of migrants and ethnic minorities) anonymously- cite the inclusion in a network as motivation to produce content. 'It isn't the main thing I do; I have a job too. But it is nice to feel like I am doing something and that people are reading it! I can be as *indignada* as I want; but when I know someone is bothering to read it, I feel like I'm still doing something about it'. To her, the presence of an audience provided a network in which she became actively rather than passively indignant.

Instruction, Propaganda, Leisure: Audience-perspectives on edifiers' content

The key operation of edifiers in resistance is to affect 'subaltern consciousness of dominant structures' in Scott's sense (Ortner, 1995). The narratives that they collectively and individually produce and promote make up a knowledge-scape which is perceived at audience level to be alternative to unreliable information from institutions, and therefore inherently critical of their structure. When referencing these alternative narratives, participants evoke the investigative action of finding your own facts. I further the analogy of Ortner's reading of Scott's 'false-consciousness' of subalterns; audiences commenting on their active approach to information, opposing it to the passive nature of 'watching the news, shrugging, and waiting for *First Dates* to come on' (as my former flat-mate described the average televisual habits of her friends), perform a reflexive process on their own dominant structures on a spectrum from consent, to resignation (Ortner, ibid) to critique.

The audiences which edifiers target (whether visible, as a crowd gathered for a speech, lecture or documentary screening, or invisible, as an online readership consuming and re-distributing content), by their nature, qualify their discourses as a performance intended for a peer or group of peers. Stéphane, of his film projects, said 'I hope they show them is schools, in associations. Even if *Excelente. Revulsivo. Importante.* is four years old

now, I want young people to see it, people who maybe weren't in 15M. It's not just nostalgia, it's momentum'. Daniel, of his ideological blog, said once 'I don't care if anyone reads it. I write it for me, I know maybe just a few people in my circle read it and really care'. Though they differ on the professed audience-target of their output, both edifiers mention a conceptual readership for their output, which differentiates edifying texts from merely argumentative conversations. The performance of their texts has a dual effect on resistants in the field. For the edifier, the performance is the 'process by which they become [resistant] subjects' (Salih, on Butler's theories of performativity, 2002: 4); as Serena says of her blog, 'I can look at the conditions of immigrants in Madrid, the racism, the indifference to migrants all day long, and sure I'm outraged; but by writing about it and informing people, this is how I take that outrage out of my own home'. It is a constitutive performance for the edifier. For the audiences exposed to and sharing the content, I argue (again with Butler) that it is limiting. Within acts and contexts of performativity, 'culturally constructed categories cannot be repudiated, so the subject is left with the question of how to acknowledge and "do" the construction that is already in place' (Butlerand Shusterman, 1999: 31)- while Butler formulated this theory on performativity of gender, it applies to performances of resistance and discontent.

Edifiers in the field therefore present us with a paradox, as they create both an alternative text to local actors, and simultaneously reinforcing the limitative cultural categories of dissent by shaping the aesthetic and narrative structures into which subjects enter resistance.

A conversation I witnessed between two informants of mine (accessed through separate locations and having not met previously) highlighted the perceived importance of critique for both. Rúben, a 38 year old chef who had been unemployed for four years before his friend hired him in 2012, remarked that '[he] hadn't read much of this stuff [about the role of the government in the crisis] at first; I saw it on the news or heard about it but, once I became friends with some other *indignados* online, then there would be more and more stuff cropping up. Now my feed has more DRY links than anything else. Except maybe food stuff [laughs]'. He pulled up his phone to scroll through his Facebook feed and

illustrate his point. Helena, my housemate and volunteer at the language school for refugees in Madrid, replied: 'I'm not surprised! Because we aren't taught to *think* in this country- you're taught to memorise, to know dates, to believe what you're told. There isn't any critical education unless you have parents who care; you have to go find it for yourself.'

'It's true', concluded Rubén, 'you inherit politics like you inherit football. My father was *del Atléti,* so I am *del Atléti.* My parents voted PSOE, I voted PSOE'. (*Ser del Atléti,* 'to be of' or 'from the Atleti', means to support the team Atletico Madrid. The football team holds connotations of being of the people, opposed to the larger 'Real', Royal, team). Both participants engage reflexively with their own active critique as an audience, which they achieve through investigative and critical approaches to their media options. Edifiers, as a category in the city and in online spaces, deepen our understanding of the 'subaltern false-consciousness' discussed by Ortner; evidence of their limitative pre-shaping emerges nonetheless throughout this ethnography. When Rubén, in an earlier conversation, had told me of his parents political ideology, he had used the phrase *'rojos*- they are *rojos*. All my family has always been *rojos*'; while an accurate historic qualifier, the use of the colour as a metonym for leftist ideology harks back to the socio-historic, exotic past of resistance as it frequently arises in amateur and professional edifier discourse.

4. 'Disruptive Discourses': power and knowledge in resistant spheres.

'KNOWLEDGE IS POWER'. This 'commonplace' aphorism, in capital letters, makes up the first sentence of Fabian's *Time and the Other* (1983; 2014). The author remarks that 'this commonplace usually covers up for not so common truths' (Fabian, 2014: 1); it is these 'not so common truths' about edifiers' impact on local protest and urban resistance that this last section hones in on. I review the structures, and interactions, of knowledge

and power that edifiers construct amongst and around the heterogeneous group of urban resistants.

Knowledge, according the Bateson, is inherently subjective, being always a personal construction at the individual level as he or she makes sense of outside signifiers. It is 'codified' (Bateson, 1951 in Rapport and Overing, 2007: 52), as it makes the transition between events in the outside world and 'ideas in socio-cultural milieux'. Along the same thread, Geertz (1983: 151) posits that subjectively constructed categories of knowledge are applied to events 'out in the world'. I argue that the acts and performances of resistance in Madrid, both daily (walking past a graffiti featuring an anarchist symbol, scrolling through anti-government memes on your phone) and exceptional (participating in a protest or experiencing the Acampada Sol of 2011) constitute their own 'socio-cultural milieu' in Bateson's sense- spaces into which events are transferred into recognisable and shareable 'ideas' at an individual level, making the effervescence and community of resistance possible. Edifiers wield local power in shaping the codes available to actors who engage in and identify with this community, the number of which was greatly increased by what 15M call the *despertada*, awakening, of the financial crisis. The narratives and images which edifiers use and re-use create the 'propositions by which [resistant actors] live, the validity of which is a function of their belief in them' (Bateson, 1951: 212).

The 'not so common truths', discernable in the power structures of edifiers, stem from their particular relation to both knowledge itself, and to the 'socio-political milieu' of discontent and political inchoacy which they actuate.

'My wisdom is better than their wisdom': negotiating knowledge

The content that edifying informants produce, as discussed above, can be formulated explicitly to educate and instruct the public; it can be authored as part of a professional activity; they can also stem from the edifier's desire for personal fulfillment through the act of writing. While these variances in motivation impact upon edifier's reflection on

their role in resistance, they share common conceptual approaches to knowledge, which I will now review.

The pervasive use of the plural pronouns 'us' and 'them' in the poetry and essays that Maria posts online every day or two are the first signifier of insider and outsider status in her texts. 'They create the new gypsies at the gates of the city, counting the [migrants] who arrive on our shores, they make their statistics from *cortes en nosotros* ['cuts in us']' (excerpt from a Facebook published essay, June 2017). 'They came celebrating their glory, their victory, (...) and said to my house: this is not your house, to my country: this is not your country, to my dead: these are not your dead' (from a poem published in 2014 under the title *Invocation).* The 'cuts in us', a polysemy of physical and financial (austerity driven) suffering at the hands of 'they', leads the reader into a shared positionality and re-affirms the violent oppression (by 'cutting') and bureaucratic lack of empathy (by the reference to Victor Hugo's 'gypsies at the gates') of the other in power. The second excerpt, with its reference to the first person's 'country', 'house' and 'dead' makes a direct rhetorical move towards local belonging, ancestry and indigeneity, bringing the reader into a first person, emotive perspective.

The indigeneity of resistant knowledge is constructed against, firstly, the foreign deciding powers of neo-liberal experts (Harvey, 2005; Graeber, 2011; Brown, 2015), to which it opposes emic narratives born of experience (the 'cuts in us' of which Maria writes). 'Indigenous knowledge is largely based on subjective historical or cultural experience, and on uncontrolled and undocumented observation', writes Purcell (1998: 259). Edifier discourses reflect both these qualities. Life-stories and lived experiences make up the emotive 'cultural experience' of political subordination, an effect for which the narratives can be biographical as well as autobiographical. David, the British historian, said while discussing his walking tours of Madrid: 'it's a balance really, between giving people the historical facts, the numbers and the dates- which is of course fundamental to the tour. But I like to keep as many life stories in there as I can; like the story of the activities of women living in bomb shelters or what the Republicans barricaded in the university would have had to eat (or not). That's what keeps most interest going'. If history truly is

written by the victors- and, with the Franco regime extending until or past 1975, edifiers feel this to be the case in Spain- then the narratives of resistance, tracing temporal parallels between vanquished resistance in 1936 and activism in the twenty-first century, qualify as the 'uncontrolled' knowledge disregarded by the winning side. They claim their knowledge as indigenous to a politically and historically under-represented group.

Fabian (2012) identifies a trend in the study of indigenous knowledge to place 'our knowledge' above 'their belief', laying claim to the rationale of Western science- that it is observable, repeatable and objective. The emotive arguments which are explicit in edifier discourses, as they approach themes of social injustice and suffering, invert this classification of 'knowledge' as superior to 'belief' by renegotiating expertise in terms of morality. The 'beliefs' indigenous to resistance inherited from the defeated Left are presented as ideologically correct, aligned with notions of fairness, empathy and human rights, against the rationale of dominants which causes and ignores social injustice. As Serena, the blogger focusing on the experience of ethnic minorities in Madrid, said of her project: 'I get my data from good sources- they aren't made up. All my stories come from people [in my community] and are true. When the government calls our neighbourhood 'unsafe' or say that Lavapies is just a square full of Senegalese pot dealers, they're not representing what we in the *barrio* feel; maybe they're representing what some of the *ancianos* [older inhabitants, usually white Spanish home-owners in the recently gentrified area] think. But having them say that we are all dodgy lay-abouts and scammers... Well anyway, my wisdom is better than their wisdom, because we're trying to improve lives when they just make them worse'.

Disruptive knowledge

Formulations of proprietary knowledge- 'my wisdom', 'my dead' (a metonym for personal genealogy and personal knowledge of kinship)- could fit into Fabian's categories of indigenous knowledge, as appraised by the ethnographer: as a possession (something which belongs to a certain group, in a semblance of cultural copyright), as a state (opposed to ignorance), or as a practice (an investigative or engaged construction) (Fabian, 2012).

The recurrence of personal pronouns points, rhetorically at least, to the category of 'knowledge as possession'; however, perspectives from edifiers themselves locates their narratives as 'knowledge as practice'. The act of authoring public texts has a transformative impact upon lived experiences, transferring them from immediacy to reflexive and rhetorical rationalisation and 'communicable signifiers' (Bateson, 1951: 175). The audiences who read or view the content utilise and come to recognise these signifiers; through the discourses available to them, and completing them with their own subjective reading, they construct world-views (Wallace, 1961) of what it means to be 'resistant'. 'Knowledge as practice' therefore creates a power discrepancy between edifiers and their audiences within the very sphere of resistance, in terms of the active-passive relation to the knowledge in question. Edifiers, by practicing authorship and engaging with signifiers reflexively, impact upon the 'narrative emplotment' through which resistant lives attain meaning (Kerby, 1991 in Rapport and Overing, 2007: 318).

To create narrative and knowledge, within spheres of resistance and their overriding power systems, is presented as a disruptive practice. 'They don't want people to know this! In fact, they *rely* on people *not* knowing this; it's what keeps things in order', said Andrea, of a fellow blogger's research into the actual effects of the Ley Organica 4/2015. The law, known amongst my participants as the *Ley Mordaza*, the 'muzzle law', placed heavy fines and restrictions on activities of protest (as discussed in chapter 1). Andrea, in this instance, was referencing the widely held belief in Madrid that the Policía or council representatives had the right to forbid, and forcibly disband, urban protest. 'What people don't know, and actually I didn't know until I read Paco's article [blog post], is that only a judge can actually forbid a protest. Obviously they never take it before an actual *judge.* So, the *ayuntamiento* (municipal council) just hopes that everyone doesn't figure it out and gives up because they're afraid of the 6oo euro fine'. This participant mobilises a common trope of ignorance as an instrument of state control, applying it to her experiential field of resistance. Her *practice* of authoring, researching, and peer-to-peer sharing through social media has a disruptive end to *states* of ignorance which weaken activism (I use italics here to highlight the interaction between the different types of

indigenous knowledge outlined by Fabian (2012) in the field, and the hierarchisation of knowledge-practice as power and subordination-as-state).

Time: unpacking a key dimension in edifiers' texts

'Time' is central to both the ethnographic writing about edifiers and to their own reflexive constructions of their texts. Methodologically, the impetus behind the seeking out and interviewing of authors and edifiers in the field is taken from Nora's (1987) *ego-histoire*. *Ego-histoire*'s first application is to lead authors of archival and social history to reflect on their own position within a generation (Nora, 2011 in Kattago et al., 2015: 4). Nora's reflexive historiography follows on the cognitive, codification theories of Bateson (1951), positing that all knowledge (even archival history) is constructed through both outside events and subjective structures that interpret them. I find this to be a resonant approach particularly to the historiography of nations negotiating amnesty and contentious claims to the past, as written by historians indigenous to those same nations (Aguilar, 2002; Hastrup et al., 1992). But why use a historiographic method to advance ethnographic understanding of authors concerned with resistance and activism in the present? This is possible through the bridging that edifiers operate, of the gap between the 'anecdotal' (of the Greek *anekdota*, 'unpublished') and Bateson's 'communicable signifiers'. Their actions of transcribing the unpublished discourses of discontent into public, shareable content, mirrors the actions undertaken by the historian investigating contentious memory negotiations in her own milieu.

The majority of the narratives put forth in activist circles is, ostentatiously, about present-day 'crisis, livelihood and hope' (Narotzky and Besnier, 2014)- with the exception of Maria, whose literary focus explicitly names collective memory, and the two historians discussed above. This does not dissociate edifier narratives from reference systems to the past, as textual rhetorical analyses (detailed in the following section), and a review of the types of knowledge at play, evidence.

Resistant discourse places value on experience and personal narratives (or anecdotes) over violent and harmful 'expert' knowledge. Local actors in times of austerity and uncertainty might construct temporal parallels between their experience of crisis, and a 'genealogical' understanding of violence and oppression inherited from past generations. This has been evidenced in the anachronisms of Greek subjects, collapsing time in such a way that juxtaposes contemporary suffering with historic instances of German oppression in the 1940s (Knight, 2015). Knowledge about the past is removed from the archival study and left open to subjective constructions which mirror present experience. 'When I finished the *instituto* [secondary school], I was waiting to see what they would teach about Spain in the twentieth century, because I had heard about it mostly from my parents- this was before there were big movies about it or anything. But the last year of the *instituto*, history stopped at 1918. This was in the 1990s. No Spanish history after 1918. So now what I know about it, I have found out for myself- everyone should', said Ignacio, the bookstore manager, of his experience of public education and collective memory in schools. By 'finding out for oneself', edifiers and their audiences perpetuate the subaltern-ness of history and memory on the side of the vanquished, constructing it through the lens of contemporary experience and inherited genealogical anecdote.

My second focus, in uncovering the sometimes latent role that the shared past plays in new narratives of resistance, is on constructions of amnesty and amnesia in activist discourses. 'Individual and collective memories coexist and, even if they do not coincide, the most important thing for stability is that they do not contradict each other', writes Complutense historian Aguilar (2002). Grassroots constructions of subordination, when linked to a shared past of oppression, operate as individual memory 'contradicting' authoritative discourses on the success of amnesty in Spain. Memory itself, as discussed in chapter 1, has been politicised and brokered by the bi-partite system since Spain's transition to democracy in 1975; the collective amnesty ('forgetfulness of a wrong') locates memory itself as a disruptive act of knowledge. The texts of edifiers, even those concerned only with contemporary social action, inherit the signifiers tied to the left and to resistance in Spain since 1936 and continually relocate shared past as disruptive to Aguilar's 'stability'.

Sontag (2003: 85, in Kattago, 2015), on the subject of collective memory, argues that 'there is no collective memory, only collective instruction'. On the ethnographic subject of edifiers of resistant content in Madrid, this statement can be in turn supported and questioned. The operative term, which ties into the question of this section, is 'instruction'. It plays dually in the field of grassroots knowledge; a first reading of 'instruction' as institutionally mandated (locating it as the transference of the 'expert' knowledge opposed by activists) would refute Sontag's theory in the field of Madrileño resistance. As edifiers 'practice' knowledge, filling gaps described by Aguilar as necessary for 'stability', they reproduce collective signifiers of memory constructed on the outside of instruction. Sontag's argument, from this perspective, can be refuted and rewritten as 'there is collective memory constructed against, or in spite, of collective instruction'. This coincides with edifiers' reflexive readings of pasts 'found out for themselves- everybody should', as Ignacio stated.

From the cognitive perspectives of Bateson and his 'communicable signifiers', Sontag's theory is validated. With time and the past in resistance relying on the anecdotal and, as argued previously, the romanticised, the 'memories' of suffering to which resistant harks back are perpetuated by ongoing play between audiences, images, narratives, and the edifiers who mold structures of signifiers to fill in the blanks. The lived experience of crisis cannot create the analogical time-constructs which set subordination against historic precedents (Knight and Stewart, 2016); such constructs are effected through collective instruction, as it is operated at the grassroots level and by grassroots edifiers.

Reliable, Convincing, Sellable: knowledge and rhetoric in resistant discourse

Using their own positionality as outside-from economic power structures (a position voluntarily maintained in political parties claiming roots in resistance: cf. Iglesias in chapter 3, referencing the 'strong sense of precarity amongst the Political Science department' where he teaches). edifiers categorise their narratives as the grassroots, indigenous knowledge of the subaltern in Madrid. By inscribing their texts within local genealogies of resistance and oppression, they claim an 'other history' (Hastrup, 1992);

the content they author and share creates disruption, both in the very social fractures they bring (back) to light and in the activist sentiments which they help articulate amongst local discontented individuals.

Despite Daniel's assertion that 'I write for myself' (which reflects 'today's world of self publication that more than borders on the confessional', Kattago 2015:1), edifiers do operate firmly within a network of peers and audiences; the peers with whom they enter into discussion and mutual reference online, and the audiences who increasingly are lifted from the public square and manifest through the hits and shares of online spaces. As soon as an action is carried out with a public in mind, it takes on the quality of a performance (Turner, 1988); in the case of producers of resistant signifiers, the performative is carried out with a rhetorical aim of persuasion. The persuasiveness of a trope does not lie in its primary definition of converting the beliefs of the target audience; since, in the field of resistance in Madrid, actors shape their own media-scapes online according to their friendships and experiences out in the world, it is likely that the readership of edifiers' content already aligns with the arguments and ideologies put forth in the narrative. The persuasiveness of texts could perhaps better be described as their 'fitness', in the language of evolution as applied to culture (Mesoudi, 2011): how frequently they are shared, reproduced and read, becoming part of the shared signifiers with which resistants represent to themselves and their peers. Though its original application is in fitness of memes within folklore or rumour (Tehrani, 2013), theory of cultural evolution adapts to the rapid, horizontal dissemination of 'memes' (interestingly, now a homonym for both the cultural units of cultural evolution theory and for the captioned imaged which make up a majority of social media shared content). Indeed, if I return to the introduction of this chapter, it is the very 'fitness' of certain content that first allowed me to seek out and find successful edifiers. As I approach the end of my argument on their positionality, output and impact, I identify two key qualities which make edifiers' narratives shareable and recognisable by their online audiences.

The first quality of this content is to create a rhetoric of belonging. If rhetoric is 'a tool for agents to persuade patients by drawing upon cultural concepts' (Carrithers, 2009: 8), then

'belonging' appears throughout the narratives of authors, bloggers, booksellers, as a tool for edifiers to persuade fellow resistant subjects by drawing upon (and perpetuating) a shared imaginative. The divide between powerful and powerless actors having been exacerbated by recent experience of crisis, Madrid has become a scene where the collective 'we' and 'they' of antineoliberal activists have broader power to convince by inclusion. This inclusivity is at the root of the 'spontaneous solidarity' celebrated by 15M supporters in 2011, the spontaneity of which must be tempered in light of this review of an organising class within grassroots resistance itself.

The second quality that is identifiable in all successful or 'fit' resistant content is a rhetoric of reappropriation of marginality. By critiquing 'central expert knowledge' in the neo-liberal state-economy composite (Kapferer, 2010), local edifiers recast activism and disobedience, renegotiating marginality as morally and ethically superior to the ethics of power. The knowledge systems recognised by edifiers and their audiences are described not as marginal but as reliable, in the light of the institutional failures of crisis. 'This is the news you can actually trust', I overheard a cafe worker in Lavapies say to a customer, as she pushed a pile of printed word documents across the bar towards where he was sitting reading El País, Madrid's most widely circulated national newspaper. He grumbled something, I thought, about the football results not being in there- but this exchange did occur in early fieldwork days when my Spanish was not at comfortable eavesdropping levels. On a later visit to the cafe, I asked the same woman behind the counter about the stack of printed, stapled documents. 'My sister brings those in every day or so- she's *muy roja*, very red, and she is very good with the internet- so she prints out the good articles and opinion pieces that you can't find in print'. As I came to frequent the cafe, *La Libre* (the Free), I found that Rosa's sister's articles were often well worn and flipped through. I once asked a man in his thirties, returning one to the pile after reading it, if it was any good (the title identified it as an opinion piece on the amalgamation of protest and terrorism in Spain, published online at eldiario.es). 'Pretty good', he answered. 'At least it's written by someone who's thinking. This is the news you can trust'. This ethnographic illustration, as well as giving voice to the hierarchisation of independent versus national news sources in a Madrid cafe, also reiterate the previous quality of belonging: by

researching, printing, stapling and delivering these texts to La Libre, Rosa's sister becomes an edifier in her own right, re-affirming daily her insider status to a resistant group by making publicly visible her reading and understanding of its shared signifiers.

Finally, resistant narratives gain their public by presenting an appeal. As Ignacio said during a conversation in his bookshop, 'resistance sells'. He was pointing to a prominent shelf of publications on independentist movements, anti-capitalist protest, and on the Republica in Madrid (despite this being a Spanish-language bookshop, a third of the volumes were in English). In this view, the forty-something-year-old Spanish bookseller in a small shop in Lavapies mirrored the view held by the British historian: 'there is a mystique to the whole *rojos* thing', David told me in an interview in 2018. We were discussing the upcoming book release of his latest book, on the International Brigades in Spain.

5. Conclusions

The term 'edifier' has been used in this chapter in two of its meanings: firstly, the group of local actors I have reviewed here participate in the editing- the authorship, the assembly and the publication- of narratives and images. Secondly, their engagement with resistant discourses edifies, or elevates, the messy incomplete meanings of the anecdotal into a rationale in which they become recognised, organised signifiers.

These signifiers stem from a genealogy of resistance in Madrid and Spain and both their references and their edifiers predate, in many instances, the moment of crisis. Analysing the pre-existing narratives from the ethnographic perspective of the subset of resistants producing and promoting engaged content brings us closer to an understanding of Flesher-Fominaya's 'limits of spontaneity' in the 15M protest (2015). The narratives and discourses are shaped as 'indigenous' to subaltern

groups and reinforce the 'populist' (in Laclau and Errejón's reading of populism) divide between the people and an unreliable elite. The resulting signifiers allow local discontented subjects to transform inchoate indignation into identifiable resistance, which binds a community of belonging and has recognisable codes. In Carrithers' terms, resistance is transitioned from the inchoate (unknowable, not fully understandable category) to the definite, overcoming the unpredictability and opacity of urban resistance (which I as a researcher experienced, cf. chapter 2).

From a methodological perspective, this chapter defends both an auto-ethnographic dimension to this research (my own approach to these narratives occurring through the same online gateway as they do for local actors, the online space), and the need to consider secondary sources (online sharing, widely read texts) as wholly ethnographic; the 'persuasive fictions' (Strathern, 1987) of the field of resistance make up much of local understandings of subordination and indignation. By seeking the sources of these 'fictions' within the subaltern group, I argue that it has greater power of representation, and greater divisional hierarchies, than has previously been observed for resistance in the time of crisis.

Power-as-knowledge makes up a central facet of resistant dynamics in Madrid: 'they rely on people not knowing this', '[everyone should] find out for themselves', 'their wisdom makes lives worse', are all constructions of knowledge and power in a bound struggle taken from the edifiers cited in this chapter. I have addressed these tensions within the subaltern level itself, through an immersive analysis of the narrative landscapes where actors themselves find the 'communicable signifiers' that make up grassroots understanding. 'I knew I was angry about not finding work, or about having to move home with my mother', said my informant and informal Spanish teacher Victor; 'but I didn't realise I was *indignado* until I saw the word in Sol'.

Chapter Five

Complicit Audiences: investigating binding aesthetics and tacit adhesion in resistance

Abstract

This chapter addresses the fragmentary and juxtaposed visual and textual signifiers that make up protest landscapes. I argue that actors, in a game of distinction and association, witness and perpetuate an aesthetic of resistance. Once the argument for an aesthetic reading of resistance is established, I consider ethnographically how local resistants form interpretations of semiotic content that is offered without hermeneutics. I argue that the phenomenology of a consensus around these symbols constitutes a 'complicit audience' in resistance.

1. Introduction

I first presented a version of the arguments contained in this chapter at the ASA conference in 2016, six months into my fieldwork. Over the following two years of field research and writing, the roughness of the draft has perhaps not so much smoothed as it has shape-shifted, becoming a parable of the mutable (re)-constructions that make up its core interest. The 2016 draft of the argument was intended to be a reflection on the disassembled elements of the urban field; how, when going out in search of my subject after a year of careful plotting and planning, I was faced with partial, part-time, or (I thought) poorly informed participants in protest, finding only fragments of meaning where my most admired authors always had seemed to uncover a whole. From a (typical, I am sure) early-research coming-to-terms with disparity- and a measure of disappointment- in the field, the arguments put forth in this chapter have taken new shape, to convey what I strongly believe to be both a central and an overlooked anthropological quality of Rabinowitz's 'CMP' (Contemporary Metropolitan Resistance; 2014). Rather than seek out patterns at all costs, I allow the inconsistencies and incompleteness of signifiers of resistance to be subject matter in itself. The result cannot be a watertight analysis of semiotics in Madrid, since their subjective nature is their very substance; rather, it is an analysis of the very dynamics behind the fragmentary, competing tropes of ideological understanding and self-representation as 'resistant' amongst a 'complicit' urban audience.

Actors in Madrid have within their reach a spectrum of engagements, from the aesthetic to the active, that serve as signifiers of resistance in both their introspective ideological construction, and as idioms of their belonging to a wider resistant group. Resistance is not only something that is *done*, although the public march or protest remain key moments of visibility and interaction for resistant actors with the city and each other; it is also to something to be worn, suspended from a balcony, bought, sold, intimated, supported as a football team or even eaten and drunk. In this chapter, I unpack the constructions that lead Madrileños to consider each of these acts as potential loci of resistance. They form a discursive and aesthetic stratum of meaning wherein resistance is recognised, but not spelled out, its cultural tropes imitated at a grassroots level, occasionally spreading misinterpretation or incomplete meanings but nonetheless enabling frameworks of mutual

recognition in the public spaces of the city. By 'complicity', I refer to the readily-available aesthetic and semiotic systems through which small, everyday signifiers of resistance (a badge, a slogan, or perhaps a certain bar) are understood and perpetuated by an audience, which continually and collectively shapes and re-constructs their meaning.

The goal of this chapter is to offer an anthropologically informed reading of the inchoate and ambivalent social and ideological functions of resistance. I consider Madrid to be a strong setting for the study of these questions in Spain, since its urban landscape presents rich resistant fabric, which is not geared toward regionalism or independentism as is so frequently the case in other major Spanish cities. Madrid has allowed me to read into local constructs and signifiers of resistance, which address local and national power without the oft-cloudy lens of a secessionary agenda. The chapter follows a progression in four parts, which I outline now as a guide through arguments of the fragmentary and incomplete.

The first section of the chapter introduces the fragmentary nature of the discursive and visual signifiers, which actors mobilise as they constitute recognition of themselves and of others as 'resistant'. I use Miller's work on material ethnography and aesthetics (2008); I propose that we consider resistance in aesthetic terms rather than immobilise it through the lens of power and subordination binaries. Put simply, I argue that actors in Madrid, when they engage in contemporary anti-neoliberal protests, are not reading their resistance in terms of the actual thing they are protesting (precarity, unemployment, or the treatment of minorities), but are 'doing' resistance by reproducing aesthetic tropes. I lean on a brief review of performativity theory to see how it might shed light on the unbound and sometimes inconsistent signifiers within resistance.

The second section is presented through the extended ethnographic analysis of a series of protests in February 2016, drawing out further readings of the ideological juxtapositions that make up the landscape of urban protest. It focuses on protests following the incarceration of two *titiriteros* (puppeteers) during the Carnival in the barrio of Vallecas, on charges of inciting terrorism. This ethnographic moment has been selected as it offers

a unique light in which to consider correlations between post-15M protest and the traditional, much-theorised field of Spanish political subversion through Carnival.

Thirdly, the chapter deepens its reading of the visual and discursive signifiers discussed thus far, honing in on their mnemonic and nostalgic qualities. The consumption and performance of nostalgia of lived, 20th century social history has been a prolific field for post-socialist states (name, in Angé and Berliner, 2014). I review how this methodology serves to highlight the retrospective gazes which emerge from the resistant aesthetics visible in Madrid. The mnemonic and nostalgic approach to resistant picks up on remarks made in chapter 4 on the romanticisation of resistance, and the impact that such a gaze has on the potential for, and the perceived value, of effective action.

A final section deepens theoretical analysis of what makes a 'complicit audience'. I use this section to bring together the fragmentary, visual and mnemonic facets of resistance, through which a shared imaginary of protest and meanings is continually co-constructed between audience members. Since these meanings are viewed and shared tacitly (without explicit verbal explanation: the recognition, understanding and unpacking of a symbol is left up to its viewer), they are susceptible to errors in transmission- the 'wear and tear' (Morin, 2016) of cultural transmission, whereby a cultural meme can successfully spread among a group despite containing errors and straying from its intended or original meaning. The signifiers used by the complicit audience make up shared and binding sets of meaning. I consider the questions of metaphor, amalgamation, transmission and adaptation that make up 'complicity' in their interpretation. This, along with prior treatment of resistant signifiers as fragmentary, binding, marketable, and nostalgic, draws out the shapes and impact of the mutual understanding of a complicit audience.

2. Fragments as such: allowing for abstraction, immediacy and juxtaposition in resistance.

'Categories create assumptions'
Miller, 2008: 5.

As discussed in chapters 1 and 3, resistance in this thesis is studied in the light of the renewal of public engagement in Southern Europe, as populations suffered the effects of crisis and austerity. Scholarship of the 15M in Spain has isolated 'solidarity' as a key trope of the ensuing protests (see chapter 3), and their findings have been echoed in the study of simultaneous protests across Europe and the United States (Graeber, 2011; Knight and Stewart, 2016; Narotsky and Besnier, 2014). Unpacking the grassroots meanings encompassed by this foundational 'solidarity' opens up a web of juxtaposed tropes, metaphors and contradictions. These contradictions, which I uncover ethnographically in this first section, operate at the ideological level (juxtaposing the insignia of both the soviet communist C.C.P.P. and of the Spanish Second Republic onto one's college backpack) and at the individual level, where conflicting meanings are reconciled as actors construct their self-view as members of a 'solidary resistance'. Arturo, a 20-year-old design student who also worked as a line cook in the Malasaña area, frequented the anarchist circles who could sometimes be found at *concentraciones* (immobile protests) distributing pamphlets and selling print articles from atop a cardboard box. When asked about his anarchist affiliations, he said: 'I was an *anarquista* in high school; we all wore the same black and would try and get the other students politicised, well mostly by writing graffiti I suppose. Some of us (he points to a young girl sitting on the ground beside the makeshift stand) know each other from back then. But we all share the same idea either way, that whomever you vote for is going to screw you, by voting, you're screwing yourself. It's a hard change to make in Spain because people are so conservative'. I asked him if he belonged to any such societies in his university (I did not find out exactly which one he attended as he never named it beside saying it was 'near Cuatro Caminos (metro stop)'). He replied that no, he had not made such connections at his university, that his activism and his political engagement happened amongst the group he was now with, who on that day were handing out a pamphlet with the caption 'No Alimentes al Syst€ma' ('Do not feed the Syst€m') above an illustration of envelopes being fed into a ballot box full of snakes. The substitution of the E for the Euro symbol points to the entanglement of

democratic practice, public finance and perceived corruption. 'But do you pay fees, for your university?', I asked tentatively. Arturo shrugged, 'yes, yes I pay. Here you pay for everything. You want to get a chance at a job, anything, first you pay'.

So it was that a young participant, who was engaged both politically and socially with anarchist activism, was able to reconcile his own resistant identity with seemingly conflicting prerogatives of 'wanting to get a chance at a job'. It is these reconciliations and inchoate, partial meanings that this section introduces.

'Signifiers': making sense of fragmented ethnographic data

By 'signifiers', I mean an anthropological interpretation of the OED's definition of the term: 'a sign's physical form (such as a sound, printed word, or image), as distinct from its meaning'[11]. I extend this definition slightly and use 'signifier' to designate signs as constitutive of tacitly shared understanding. Signifiers are made outwardly visible or audible to a presumed audience; they are presented visually or verbally with incomplete or malleable meaning, which is reliant on pre-existing structures of understanding to make the *signifier* into *significance.* Take for instance the female effigy of the 'Republica Española: 14 de Abril 1931' (fig. 5.1). Over the course of fieldwork, I found this image to be displayed both in cafes and in private homes or, in one instance, glued to the cover of a binder alongside other adornments. In most instances, the effigy included the caption of the Republic and the date of its foundation; in one coffee and bicycle shop in the trendy Malasaña barrio, the copy was in a modernised spray-paint style, with no caption. When I first came across it however (since my pre-fieldwork research had not lead me very deep into the insignia of the Second Republic), I was in La Libre, the Lavapies cafe which serves as a politically-minded meeting point and bookstore in Madrid (see chapters 2, 4, 6). Rosa, the employee who in the first weeks of my fieldwork seemed to have taken it upon herself to act as gatekeeper and triage relevant content for me to include, pointed it

[11] Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, pp. 1893, 1965.

out on the wall above the entrance. 'This, she said, is what you need to look out for'. She went on to outline its origin in the Second Republic in fairly scholastic terms ('they were democratically elected against the king'), and concluded rather abstrusely: 'this picture is what you need to find for your paper'. When, later in fieldwork, I saw the same image for sale in a vintage-inspired shop south of Sol, I pointed it out to my friend Lucia (originally from Málaga in Andalusia, but living in Madrid since 2012). 'That's cool, she said, I might get it'. I asked her why it was 'cool', and she replied that 'it's the same one they have in La Cabra [bar in the La Latina district]! I like it, it's *muy de rojos* [a very red thing] (laughter)'.

Lucia and Rosa's interpretations of the importance of this symbol differ in the analytic depth that accompanies their subjective experience of it; Rosa, in constant contact with activists, either put the symbol up herself or sees it and discusses it daily. Lucia, not politically engaged and not a self-identified resistant actor, considers purchasing the image for her home since it forms associations with both a locale (the bar La Cabra) known locally for its artistic clientele, and with what she herself categorises as 'muy de rojos', very red things; 'red' once again serving as a metonym for leftist, historically anti-establishment politics. The visual symbol of the 'face' of the Republica is therefore lifted from its archival place of origin, to have its meaning constructed socially as individual actors locate it within their own frames of reference which make it attractive and marketable (for Lucia) or politically meaningful (for Rosa). While I do not extend this argument to consider signifiers as actors in the Latourian sense (2005), I consider the networks of social interaction in which they occur to re-shape and sometimes overtake their original archival meaning. When I refer to 'tacit' understanding, I refer to these interactions between a displayed signifier and the structures of local and personal understanding that make up its meaning, and which necessarily leave cracks open for individuals to fill in according to their own experience of the city, the symbol and their own self-representation. While Rosa might consider the *14 de Abril* portrait to be a meaningful symbol of an overthrown democratic process in her country, the structure through which she perceives, exhibits and re-explains it to an outsider differs semantically from Lucia's 'it's cool'. Signifiers such as this one operate at the group and at the individual

level, becoming 'categories [which] create assumptions' (Miller, 2008: 5) of belonging, similarity, and cohesion without discursively analysing whether one's readings of the signifier actually coincide with one's peers. Further on in this chapter and in chapter 6, I make this point again with regard to flags in Madrid, to communist insignia from the ex-USSR, and to certain businesses and areas of the city. In Clifford's terms, these and other signifiers become 'textualised cultural idioms' (Clifford, 1988 in Kirtsoglou, 2003: 103), which are understood within the particular vernacular that Madrileños recognise as resistant.

Considering 'aesthetics': materiality and visualness in resistance

'Aesthetics' as an analytical framework is by no means self-evident. The term, within anthropology, bears an historic association to the study of art and literature within cultural settings; and so, to speak of a 'resistant aesthetic' concerned with inexpert reproduction of signifiers may come across as a conceptual debasement. Nevertheless, I consider that actors' evaluation of visual and discursive signifiers as 'of resistance' relies on an analytical process similar to those that establish the beautiful, the artful or the poetic. I use the term 'aesthetics' in Miller's sense of there being 'an overall logic to the pattern of relationships to both persons and things' in participants' material lives (Miller, 2008: 5). The signifiers of resistance, in this framework, become much broader than simply participation in protests actions or voting; they include personal, sartorial presentation, the displaying of flags and insignia in various forms (I found the purple-yellow-red of the Republica in badges, bracelets, t-shirts, posters, Facebook cover photos and in sprayed-on hair dye), or the choice to patronise a certain bar. To echo Rabinowitz: 'everything... from revolutions to hairstyles [is] being described as resistance' (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004 in Rabinowitz, 2014). Rather than diluting the 'authenticity' of resistance, the broadness of these signifiers can forment an aesthetic of political discontent into which actors can inscribe themselves; by embracing an aesthetic signifier associated with resistance, they present themselves as belonging to a certain politic,

simultaneously implying their inside-ness as they adhere to texts which are offered to them tacitly.

Considering 'resistance' as an aesthetic for actors also opens up scales of participation in protest, which are obfuscated when a focus on resistance is 'myopic' (Brown, 1996) and concerned only with the moment of collective protest of 2011. As I have argued in the previous chapter, political resistance is authored and read within the grassroots level; but data on the varying levels of engagement of the polis with resistance demonstrates that it is also seen, recognised, repurposed and marketed. To illustrate this point on levels of engagement, I turn to a small store on Calle Palma, located near Madrid's central Plaza de España on a street populated by late-night bars favoured by locals. The store was opened by Ernesto, a Madrileño in his early thirties, in December of 2012 (on the twelfth, he specified- writing down 12/12/12 to make the sequence of twelves visible). His store had been recommended to me by a man in a cafe in La Latina, on whose laptop I had spotted Republica-coloured stickers. In an impromptu informal interview, I approached him to ask where he had procured them and why he had them. This participant (a sound engineer working in Madrid's public radio) did not self-identify as an activist: 'I'm not really out on the streets, I wasn't in Madrid for 15M. I'm not an *activista*.' He pointed to some other stickers on his laptop: 'this is a really good band, good Spanish punk. And so yeah, when I found these [two variations of a hellenic face of justice on a red, yellow and purple background] I was with a friend up on Palma, I thought they were good. I liked what that store was doing, *mola* (it's cool)'. Though this participant explicitly did not self-identify with my research subjects once informed of the project ('I'm not an *activisita*'), he nonetheless displayed a level of shared engagement with the visual signifiers that make up complicity within Spanish discontent (the colours of the Republican flag). These are, in his presentation of them, juxtaposed with other, less political forms of contestation (punk music). The political signifier, in this case, serves as 'objectification' (or 'the self-creation of the subject through interaction with objects', Miller, 2001: 88) of an aesthetic relation to power which combines political and popular culture media.

Ernesto, the owner and co-designer of the store on Palma (fig. 5.2), traced the origin of the store back to a different cultural 'need': This store was a necessity, because, if you want to support the *Selección* (Spanish national football team) but you are a Republican, you obviously can't buy a shirt in the colours of the Bourbons [the national red-yellow-red flag] with a crown on it! So they started making these jerseys in Barcelona in 2010 and then we opened here. Now, our shirts are pretty widespread'[12]. When I asked him who his customer base was and whether he had any thoughts on their motivations, he replied 'my customers are *personas cultas* ('educated people'), solidary people, who want to show off their political and social ideas. I have had the chance to dress some of my idols here- Julio Anguita, Eric Cantona, Evaristo Paramos...'. Julio Anguita was the general secretary for the Spanish Communist Party from 1988 to 1998; Eric Cantona is famous for his football career in Britain. The third 'idol' Ernesto mentioned is the lead singer of a punk band who, in May of 2018, got 'identified' (pre-arrest identification by the police) after a shouting '*Policia, sois unos hijos de puta'* ['Police, you sons-of-bitches'] on stage.[13] The intervention fell into ongoing contestation over the Ley Mordaza (see chapters 1 and 3), causing Pablo Iglesias, head of Podemos, to tweet 'Evaristo Libertad'.

This short excerpt from the clothes designer and store-owner illustrates two important rationales. First and most explicitly, that 'my clientele is educated', echoing the importance of critical thought and non-reliance on state education cited by edifiers of resistant content in Madrid. I do not include Ernesto, as a participant, in the category of edifiers, since in his own words 'people come to me knowing full well what all this means. No one comes here by accident; maybe that's why I've never had any trouble, I never have to explain my products, the people who come in are like-minded'. Secondly, Ernesto's identification of his 'idols' whom he has sold merchandise to illustrates an aesthetic

[12] This interview was conducted in the summer of 2017; shortly after, the jersey designed for Spain in the Fifa World Cup of 2018 caused some polemic as it sported a 'blue' stripe, which gave it the appearance of the red-yellow-purple scheme. Reactions on social media outcried the 'sovietisation' of the team's colours, enacting another amalgamation of left wing tropes. ('La Camiseta 'Republicana' de España para el mundial causa un terremoto en las redes', El Periodico, 06/11/2017)

[13] 'Evaristo, excantante de la Polla Records, denunciado por insultar a la Guardia Civil tras de un concierto': 'Evaristo, ex-lead singer of la Polla Records, denounced for insulting the Guardia Civil after a concert', El Pais, Cadíz, 28/05/2018.

amalgamation of political and popular culture. From an original impetus riding the divide between football support and political affiliation, his red-yellow-and purple clothing has resonated with world-class footballers, punk musicians and the former leader of the communist party. He explicitly includes this range of idols within the category of an educated audiences; but the scale of their public personas illustrates readings of resistance across electoral politics, sports and performing arts. His identification of 'idols' who engage by purchase with his politicised product illustrates ethnographically the scale of Taussig's (1980) 'culture of resistance'. Beyond these public personalities, his products are purchased and worn by everyday actors who, in his words, 'are solidary and want to show off their political and social ideas'; personal affiliation with political resistance in Madrid is articulated through a material culture (echoing Rabinowitz's 'everything from hairstyles to revolutions'), an aesthetic set of signifiers in which one does not need to *act* in order to *perform*. I end this ethnographic vignette of the Calle Palma store with a caveat, on the ideological juxtapositions that it makes material through its merchandise. At the time of fieldwork, the store included a range of clothing featuring the logo of the Soviet C.C.P.P., on a red background rather than the omnipresent colours of the Republica. Ernesto does not consider the ideological values of the Soviet Party to be interchangeable with those of the 1931 Spanish Republic. 'Nooo, he wrote to me during a written follow-up interview, 'the C.C.P.P. had certain values and the Republica has others. We made that collection to mark the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Russian party. But they're definitely not the same thing thing, they just can please similar clienteles'. As I pushed a little further on the topic, he conceded, 'I am partly playing into a trend ;) [sic]' .

At the time of writing, the online site for Ernesto's shop continues to advertise the C.C.P.P. branded goods, alongside a new collection of men's wear featuring stylised portraits of Karl Marx and Simone de Beauvoir. A description for the new website states that 'nostalgics and newcomers alike find in the colours of the Republic a symbol of truly legitimate democracy (...). Madrid still strives to be the final resting place of fascism'. While Ernesto, when asked, explicitly denied the amalgamation of values between the Spanish and historic soviet left, the visual juxtapositions of his product perpetuate the

tacit marriage of leftist ideologies as they are consumed by an audience eager to 'show their social ideas'. The existence of a 'trend' (in the case of the C.C.P.P. logo) illustrates the widespread 'tacit agreements of taste' (Douglas, 1996: xiii) through which actors participate in a visual game of distinction from dominant power structures, dressing the part of the 'cultas' ('educated') critical and engaged opposition.

Daniel's hat: partiality and performance of resistance

Yates (2015) analyses the role that 'prefigurative politics'- that is, the 'production and circulation of political meanings'- play within social movements. In his research on 'free spaces' in Barcelona, he refers specifically to the key role that experimental, alternative organisations of protest play in actualising actors' resistance. 'Prefigurative politics' and complicit audiences share some common ground, since both are concerned with the circulation and (re)production of meanings in forming and formenting urban resistance. I consider the complicit audience to be a necessary tool to further the understanding of these productions and circulations beyond the sphere of 'actual' protest, considering how the tropes of resistance make up a complicit audience of dissent in the city at large. This is necessary, if we are to consider not only how urban resistance operates within its active spheres, but how it fails to translate into widespread impact in ongoing crisis and austerity. As we consider the complicit audience beyond the bounds of the social movement, aesthetics become an analytic tool through which resistance can be performed by local actors without binding them to political action.

In the summer of 2016, I conducted a walking-interview with Daniel, a local activist who divides his political engagement between a market stall juxtaposing a selection of left-wing insignia (see section 2 of this chapter for a detailed analysis), a prolific presence on social media, partial membership in the Spanish Communist Party and a political blog where he publishes engaged social and historic essays. Over the course of our interviews, which are referenced throughout this thesis, I witnessed a number of Daniel's political stages in action. During this particular walking-interview, we crossed a large section of

the city centre, as he had decided to show me what he understood to be the little-known political landmarks of the city. Part of the impetus behind chapter 6, on urban locales and enclaves of resistance, stems from this interview. In this section however, I hope to unpack a tangential piece of data from the same source. We walked, as I mentioned, in the summer. Though we had arranged to meet in the early evening, Madrid's heat was unrelenting, and we stopped twice to jot down notes and have cold drinks. Toward the end of our tour, Daniel produced from his satchel a dark green cotton cap with a visor, above which was a single embroidered red star. It is a fairly common design, in the style of the hats we immediately associate with Fidel Castro or Ernesto Guevara, and one that Daniel himself had been wearing whilst working at his market stall when I first met him. 'Here, *rubia* [blonde/pale], keep it', he said as he handed me the cap, amused at my increasingly red complexion. I protested that I couldn't take his hat from him despite impending heat stroke, to which he responded: 'my hat... I have a few of those, don't worry, you should have it. It's a good hat'. Surely it was, but I pointed out that, as we had discussed, I did not identify as a communist, and probably shouldn't wear it. 'No, you should wear it anyway', he replied, pushing the hand-me-down hat into my hands. 'Even if you're not a *comunista*, when certain people see you with this, they're going to trust you more. Trust me, it won't hurt your work to wear this sometimes'. For a researcher, wearing a hat, which visually identified a political affiliation, could fall under what Mookherjee (2001) has described as 'sartorial borders and negotiations'. Daniel's retort that 'I should wear it anyway' because 'it wouldn't hurt my work' illustrates an intrusion of the utilitarian into the authentic in his use of sartorial signifiers of resistance. When he himself wears this (or a similar) hat in his public instances of resistance (at his sales stall or in pictures of himself published on social media and his blog), he is performing a resistant identity sartorially, presenting continuity between political affiliation and outward presentation. This constitutes an 'authentic' (in the expressive sense of the term, of authenticity constructed by the actor in relation to perceptions of idealised culture- Dutton, 2003 in Banks, 2013: 486) use of the sartorial signifier. What is interesting, in this vignette, is the participant's willing endorsement of the hat's performance being diverted into a doubly utilitarian (the hat against sunstroke, and the hat as a tool of access) but inauthentic use. This participant's time was, by his own estimate, 'about 75% dedicated to activism [he

was unemployed at the time of fieldwork]. That's activism, activities. Of course I'm resistant all the time'; if I were to visually scale participants' personal resource-engagement in activism, this would likely place him near the top of the spectrum of my informants. Nevertheless, his engagement with his own sartorial signifiers was critical and malleable, recognising, in the case of the hat, that '[identity is] practically and discursively constructed in an intersubjective manner' (Rabinowitz, 1996, in Kirtsoglou, 2003: 33), allowing signifiers to take on different roles, utilities and messages depending on the actor and observer concerned.

'Real' resistance: authenticity and political positionality

This question, of malleable 'authenticity', becomes central to reading resistant signifiers as we consider their dynamic between the agents, targets and observers of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). 'Authenticity' still defies a bounded definition in anthropology (with 'as many definitions of authenticity as there are people writing about it'; Taylor, 2001 in Theodossopoulos, 2013: 341); still, it proves a useful tool with which to analyse the 'internalising, and identifying with, a certain socio-cultural image' (Kirtsoglou, 2003: 33). The 'internalising [of] and identifying with' signifiers is central to the constitution of the complicit audience, as it collectively shapes and perpetuates the meanings of signifiers which are offered without textual elucidation. As with Daniel's hat, visual signifiers serve to make construct identities 'discursively and intersubjectively': the meaning of a signifier such as a communist hat relies on both a performance and a recognition of the hat as a conveyor of political content. Daniel recognises and endorses the diversion of this content into a utilitarian performance (by a non-communist foreign Ph.D. researcher); his reading of subversion of meaning also points to primary, authentic readings of signifiers of resistance.

For the sake of clarity, since the theorising of authenticity within cultural studies is vast, I limit my analysis of 'authentic resistants' to Dutton's (2003, in Banks, 2013: 486) category of 'expressive authenticity'. That is, the 'subjective co-construction of the object and the participant' as authentic; authenticity not stemming from authoritative accounts

of origin, but rather stemming from a collective recognition of an object as 'authentic'. In the context of this research, this is illustrated by the perceptions of the 14 de Abril Republica portrait. Archival knowledge of the signifier's origin is neither necessary nor sufficient for its wide peer-to-peer sharing and recognition; participants such as Lucia recognise the image as resistance, and credit it as authentic, by associating it with resistant locales and groups within the city (as Lucia associated it with the bar La Cabra). Resistance and its semiotics are 'understood within the cultural context of their production (Bruner, 1993 in Theodossopoulos, 2013); recognising and understanding them through the ellipses of their presentation endows the actor with an inside-ness, by which he experiences and in turn presents his resistance as authentic.

To analyse the role of ellipses *of* meaning, and ellipses *as* meaning, within resistant content, I turn to an image shared online amongst a group of participants in early 2016, after the election of Manuela Carmena as mayor of Madrid. The 72 year old former lawyer was running for the independant-left party Ahora Madrid, as part of a wave backed by Podemos and Ciudadanos that took control of municipal government in major cities across the country (Nez, 2015). Supporters of the new mayor in Madrid often cited, in interviews, Carmena's direct ties to the democratic transition in Spain after Franco's death in 1975. 'Have you seen the statue at Anton Martin?', Carmen, a regular at La Libre asked me in the winter of 2016. When I had asked her about her feelings towards Carmena, she had begun by referencing a large iron statue in the Atocha neighbourhood, depicting a huddle of overcoat-clad characters (fig. 5.3). The accompanying plaque commemorates five legal professionals, with ties to the Partido Obrero and Partido Communista (Workers' and communist parties) who were killed by gunfire in a terrorist attack in their offices on that same street, in 1977. 'It doesn't get much more real than that', Carmen continued, 'Carmena worked in that same office! A half hour earlier or later and she could have been on that plaque. So of course, I am happy to see her in the *ayuntamiento* now, [she is] someone who has a history of fighting for the people of Madrid'. Despite being sometimes critiqued for her age in conversations, the mayor was celebrated for her ties to historic leftist action in the city, and to the violent events of 1977. This introductory digression aside, the image that I wish to analyse in terms of 'ellipses' was shared on

Facebook by the Patio Maravillas, a free-space in Madrid which, despite closing down its locale in Malasaña, remained active online (see chapter 6). The image was a black and white drawing of the mayor, decorated with roses and with the caption 'Ay, Carmena'. The image was shared by at least two of my online participants, one of which added the caption 'rumba la rumba'. By sharing and expressing support of this image, online actors were making public their understanding of at least one subtext or 'ellipses' within it. The caption 'Ay, Carmena' is a subversion of a popular republican song 'Ay, Carmela' referencing the 1938 battle of the Ebro; the second sharing, adding 'rumba la rumba', continues the lyrics of the song. Neither posts contains further reference to the Republican side of the civil war, yet both make visible the sharer's understanding of tacit subtexts, as well as allowing online audiences to perform inside-ness by 'liking' and sharing. When I originally came across the image, I was sweeping widely for content on the new left in Madrid; it was not until a year or so later that I found out about the song, and in reviewing collected online material for this thesis, was able to post-factually grasp the meaning behind this particular post.

Hollander and Einwohner (2004), in their theoretical review, identify the three positions of target, agent and observer of resistance; through this framework, the social scientist must establish whether 'the act is recognised as resistance, and whether it is intended as resistance'. The complicit audience offers a new framework in which these three positions can be addressed not only in the instances we identify as protest, but also in the partial performances of urban actors who might endorse and identify with resistant signifiers without translating that performance into further activism. Cieraad, on the subjects material culture of private spaces, has noted that 'meaning dissolves if it is not enacted again and again' (2010: 4), with 'meaning sustained in practice' (ibid). The practices of performing resistance through signifiers which are 'intended as resistance' and 'recognised as resistance' (to follow Hollander and Einwohner's directive) supposes an informed audience by whom signifiers are picked up and reproduced, with the ellipsis essential to performing understanding. The ensuing performances 'construct authenticity, [with] concepts constructed from subjective perspectives and dependent on contexts' (Wang,

1993, in Rickly-Boyd, 2009). The overlap between authenticity and resistance are again evident as both become dependent on an audience (or observer) to recognise them as such.

The 'expressive' adoption of resistance through signifiers leaves potential space for inconsistency. As actors share and recognise each others' use of signifiers, the meaning behind them is constructed along Dutton's 'expressive' model, rather than a 'nominal' model which recognises authenticity through consensual, authored confirmation of origin (Dutton, 2003 in Banks, 2013). Rather than shun incomplete or conflicting meanings by focusing solely on structurally clear resistance, this thesis engages with 'subjectivity as a resource for deeper understanding' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

3. 'Libertad Titiriteros': satire, politics and carnival in a 2016 Madrid protest

After considering the fragmentary make up of the signifiers recognised and used by a complicit audience in urban resistance, this section hones in on the case analysis of a series of three protests that took place in Madrid, between February 6th and February 13th of 2016. The short movement gathered under the banner of 'Libertad Titiriteros', ('Freedom [for] puppeteers'), after two puppet entertainers were arrested and jailed, in the northern neighbourhood of Tetuán, during a performance programmed by the municipality as part of the 2016 Carnival. Legal recourse was brought against the two performers, as their material was deemed to be 'enalticimiento' (inciting terrorism). The series of protests that followed spread to major Spanish cities, bringing to a head existing tensions around the *ley mordaza*, the 'muzzle law' perceivably motivated by the popular engagement of 2011 (c.f. chapter 3). Three of the protests taking place in Madrid were studied ethnographically for this thesis, as the movement met its denouement with the release of the puppeteers from prison on February 12th; nevertheless, the case was remained legally active until January of 2017. The Twitter page for the movement shows its final activity two months later. The sudden and intensive protest engagement is treated

here as a micro-representation of activist resistance in the city, and is treated in its six-day entirety, with particular focus on a *concentración* (immobile protest, as opposed to a march) held in Tirso de Molina, Madrid, on Sunday February 7th, 2016.

Ethnographic analysis in this section focuses on the multiple readings of power imbalance at the grassroots level, as local actors engage with readings of social justice and satire. The Libertad Titiriteros micro-movement provides ethnographic evidence of a jumbled ideological lens through which crisis and power are articulated; by allowing an entire section for the ethnographic exposure of the protests, I hope to reflect rather than correct their complex and sometimes conflicting webs of meaning.

La Bruja y Don Cristobal: readings of humour and violence in a puppet show

The marionette company 'Titeres Desde Abajo' ('puppets from below') had been commissioned by the municipality to give two performances of its oeuvre *La Bruja y Don Cristobal* ('the Witch and Don Cristobal'), as part of carnival events in 2016. During the first performance in the residential neighbourhood of Tetuán, a member of the audience denounced the play to the police, citing inappropriate levels of violence and the glorification of terrorist Basque independence group ETA. Before I analyse the themes that emerged in the ensuing protests, I draw upon secondary news sources and video data of the play (available online in fragments as it was re-produced across small theatres in Spain) to provide an overview of the controversial play as ethnographic context. This is done with a view to approach the themes of the movement more comprehensively; I must clarify, however, that at the time of the protests, none of the participants whom I interviewed had been present at the performance in Tetuán, and had not seen the play which gathered an online audience only after the controversy.

The characters of the play are a witch, her landlord, a nun, and the judge Don Cristobal; they are performed by cloth hand-puppets in the style of Punch and Judy, with the puppeteers remaining behind a curtain screen at the base of their stage. The scene opens with the landlord entering the house of the witch, demanding money for rent. As the witch

protests, then cedes the rent, the male character continues: 'Mas, mas dinero! No tiene mas dinero! Que asco de pobre' ('More, more money! She hasn't any more money! Disgusting pauper'); the male puppet then enacts a sexual assault on the puppet of the witch, in a rape scene that lasts for six seconds. The witch, following the act, turns on her landlord and stabs him with a dagger. The narrator takes over: 'the witch, only now, realises that her landlord has left her pregnant (...) She gives birth to the baby, and as she goes to the other room to get a pacifier, a nun enters her home'. The nun takes the 'abandoned' baby as her own; the witch returns and the two characters fight with a crucifix, with which the witch kills the nun. Finally, the puppet of a policeman enters stage right, and beats the witch. As she is unconscious, he sets up a sign bearing the words 'Gora Alka-ETA' in her hands, and fetches a camera. The play ends with a second narrator as a television news anchor, reporting the 'undoing of a terrorist plot'; at the final scene of the witch's trial, Don Cristobal, the judge, sentences her to capital punishment for 'witchcraft, feminism, anarchism, 'anti-systemism', squatting, and terrorism'. The witch is made to put on her noose, and when the puppet-judge demonstrates how to do so, she hangs him. The epilogue of the play would originally have been read by the two puppeteers arrested in Tetuán: 'and so the witch-mother takes her baby and goes on to live her life. We end our short story about all of today's witch-hunts, all the Don Cristobales in our midst. This is our latest play, we are Titeres desde Abajo, we want to thank you all for sharing its first performance'.

'The problem isn't with the play itself', said Ana, whom I met at the Sunday protest in Tirso de Molina. 'If anyone is to blame for this "problem" [hand gesture of quotation marks], it's the *ayuntamiento,* the planners! This isn't a bad play- but my God, it certainly isn't a play for children!'. Her analysis of the arrest of two puppet performers echoed what Diagonal, a left-leaning Madrid-based newspaper, had published the day before: while the play was undeniably violent in its content, the incident occurred primarily because it was not adequately selected by Carnival organisers for their target audience of children.

This data was not obtained through participant observation, but through research on public secondary sources. The play has since been taken up and performed by at least one

other puppet company; the number of views for the videos of the play online, ranging from 500 to over 5,000, demonstrates that similar research has been undertaken by others in reaction to the public arrest of its authors. I now return to interview data from the week of protests in Madrid, to begin untangling the tropes of satire, humour, violence, and the meanings of 'Gora Alka-ETA' as they were discussed amongst protesters.

This is satire, not terrorism: locating the subtexts of Libertad Titiriteros

'There is more violence than this in most art-house Spanish films', lamented Alma, an unemployed woman in her early thirties whom I approached as she was circling the Tirso de Molina *concentracion*, carrying a cardboard puppet with black tape over its mouth. 'But somehow this is a bigger deal. Because some old guy from *la España profunda* ('deepest Spain') has no judgement and calls the police the minute he sees a puppet show, without understanding that it's satire! What was it the lawyer said, in the paper? "There's the same violence in Dostoievsky!" This is just harrassment of the people'.

This participant's use of the word 'harassment' hones in on the central conflict at the start of the arrest protest: divergent readings of the sign 'Gora Alka-ETA', presented in the performance as the policeman puppet places it in the hands of the unconscious witch. The meaning of the text did not appear clearly in the reactions I collected from protest goers; when I asked them for their interpretation of the sign, all of my six informal interviewees converged in their replies. This was satire, dark comedy, removed from its context and criminalised despite being only a social commentary. None of them, however, gave me a clear reply on what 'Gora Alka-ETA' meant, utilising only the final 'ETA' in their explanations. I cannot dismiss the possibility that, due to the poor level of my spoken Spanish in early months of fieldwork, participants assumed that I required explanations on the Basque separatist group itself rather than the rhetoric of the whole sign. My closer Spanish acquaintances and hosts, however, could not decipher the exact meaning of the sign. As I found out well after the moment of the protests, it is a play on words in the Basque language: 'gora alkatea' would translate in Castilian to 'viva el ayuntamiento': a

sort of 'three cheers for the town council'. By creating a play on words (albeit one that many Castilian readers might not recognise), the puppeteers performed what Bakhtin (1984) identifies as a central trope of carnivalesque subversion: the 'juxtaposition of ideological contrasts' (in Gilmore, 1998: 156). In the case of *la Bruja y Don Cristobal*, the juxtaposition is three-layered: firstly, in the text itself, which the audience supposes is authored to mimic the language of Basque terrorists subverting 'Alkatea' into 'Alka-ETA'. The second subversion is carried out by the character of the policeman, as he lifts the words from their original (fictional) authorship and sets them against a character who is not, in fact, a terrorist. The third subversion, or ironic reading, is operated by the audience, as they interpret the fictional police set up to be a metaphor for poor justice practices in their lived experience. The meaning of the sign 'Gora Alka-ETA' passes through three ironical readings (in the simplest sense, that the words do not represent merely what they say- Rapport and Overing, 2007: 243), the subjectivity of which render it unstable. Meaning is recovered only if the audience 'culturally and historically contextualise the ironical stance' (Fernandez and Huber, 2001). It is this contextualisation which participants in the protest re-iterate when they meet in a *concentración* and denounce the misreading of satire as 'enaltecimiento' (inciting terrorism).

It is worth pausing briefly to review readings of the term 'enaltecimiento' as it was understood by protesters, as the movement gathered across the city centre in Tirso de Molina, Cibeles and Sol. The term translates as 'glorification', literally the 'raising up', in its full expression of 'enaltecimiento al terorismo' (the glorification of terrorism). Its application to the sign held by the witch in the Titeres desde Abajo performance led to the arrest of the two puppeteers; though they were released after five days, the maximum sentence for 'enaltecimiento' is four and a half years in prison. 'It is problematic that we should be here at all', said Miguel, a formally-dressed protester, outside the Palacio Cibeles, on the Wednesday following the arrest. 'It is problematic because yes, we have to be aware of the risks that ETA- and others- have posed to Spain. But also we now are trying to argue art against politics, to argue freedom of expression- when it is used as a political critique! Of course, you shouldn't go around supporting ETA and what they used to do- but you *should* be able to write a play that discusses the *enaltecimiento* laws and

how they get turned against people'. He went on, after retrieving a picket sign that had fallen on the ground and sticking it with others in a bush: 'and we should all be able to come out here without worrying that we will get done for *enalticimiento* too!'. Miguel's final concern, that his protest actions too could be voluntarily misinterpreted as 'raising up' terrorism by defending a satirical puppet performance, came one year after the 'Ley Mordaza' magnified the legal penalties for acts of public protest. Though no participant voiced this parallel explicitly, it seemed that by arresting the Titiriteros, the police and the municipality had re-enacted the exact miscarriage of 'enaltecimiento' laws that the puppeteers had critiqued in their performance in Tetuán.

Carnival and protest

Carnival does not simply provide a backdrop for the controversial arrests and protests of February 2016; it provides a framework of understanding both locally and anthropologically, through which violence, subversion and power in the Titiriteros protest can be interpreted. Gilmore, in 1998, wrote that 'since the break with the old regime in 1982, all censorship and political repression of the Carnival [had] been eliminated'. The 'unstable meanings' (Herzfeld, in Rubel and Rosman, 2003: 109) that lead satire to be interpreted, legally, as inciting terrorism, show an intrusion of governmental readings into the essence of the Carnivalesque. Though I must disagree with Gilmore's absolute statement of 'all' government censorship having 'been eliminated' by Spain's democratic transition, the intrusion of state repression into the sphere of Carnival binds a complicit audience of the Libertad Titiriteros protest. Censorship, limiting the vernacular available to Carnival performers as they contest the state, introduces prohibition into 'the people's second life, organised on the basis of laughter' (Bakhtin, 1984, in Gilmore, 1998: 9). If we are to consider Butler (1997: 105), 'prohibition is simultaneously production and restriction'. First, in a literal sense, the turning of the public eye to *la Bruja y Don Cristobal* augmented the play's audience, from a few hundred people in Tetuán, to online and paying audiences around the country. Secondly, the prohibition of satirical subversion of 'enaltecimiento' produced a renewed engagement with the rules and discourses of the carnivalesque, as participants met to denounce the meeting of *agravios*

and *picardía*- the 'spicy' symbolic violence of Carnival (Gilmore, 1998: 14) with actual violence and incarceration.

By wrenching the world of satire into the courts of justice, state powers incongruously (in the eye of the protester) mix the genres of symbolic satire and governmentality. 'They completely missed the point!', was frequently lamented in the protests in Madrid. A banner outside Palacio Cibeles read: 'From Francoist policeman to supreme judge = From puppeteer to terrorist' (fig. 5.4). The banner leads state violence (the judge in charge of the case was, according to Spanish press, a former policeman under the Franco regime in the 1970s) to its absurd conclusion (the amalgamation of puppets with terrorists), illustrating the dissonance experienced by protesters between performance and actual violence. Both discourses serve to mark inclusion in a cohesive group, to which the ignorance of the texts of carnival ('missing the point') are opposed. Gilmore in 1998 made a point on the Carnival in Andalusia which echoes these contemporary Madrid protests: that, under the tacit code of conduct observed during Carnival, 'everything must be endured cheerfully (...). To give offense is the purpose of Carnival; to take offense is taboo' (1998: 24-25). By taking legal issue at satirical critique, municipal powers make apparent their outsider status to the code of conduct, introducing the 'taboo' of offense. This Carnival-faux-pas of sorts has a binding effect on the audience, who can then share tangibly their own, correct, understandings of satire. The divisive questions of taste (one protester in her fifties pointed out that '[she had] read what the play was about, and it does seem *de muy mal gusto*- in very bad taste- but that is not the question') are superseded by the consensus, in protest, that to misunderstand satire is Carnival malpractice.

4. Reading the past in contemporary protest: assessing mnemonic signifiers in the field

The question of what makes the cohesion of a discontented group is key to understanding protest's dynamic, energies and reach. In an analysis published in 2017, Corsín-Jimenez and Estelella propose 'exhaustion' (from the Spanish *'agotado'*, meaning both extreme tiredness and the emptying out of something) as a new framework for the study of grassroots mobilisation in the wake of the 15M. They argue that the concept of exhaustion has been key in democratising political practice in Spain, with citizens feeling both the strain and the release brought about by participatory assemblies. The *agotados* create both shared meanings and shared experiences, which participants discuss and relive together, creating a sort of canon of exhaustion in their shared experience of protest.

My concern in this section is not with themes of exhaustion, but it does follow in Corsín-Jimenez and Estelella's footsteps, since I too focus on how a trope can be shared, constituting large groups of individual actors into an politically articulated and articulate body of resistance. The section hones in on narratives of the past- lived, imagined and genealogical- which have already surfaced over the course of this thesis. Much like 'exhaustion', I consider that signifiers and narratives of a shared (imagined or experienced) past of subordination, harking back to the texts and images of the defeated Spanish Republica, create proximity and cohesion amongst protesters. They are worn, tagged on walls, posted on Facebook walls, and chanted- I argue that their repetition, and recognition, creates what De Certeau (1984, in Angé and Berliner, 2014: 124) calls 'secondary production of objects': the consumers of objects (in this case, I include visual and verbal tropes) produce new symbolic meanings which may differ from those originally intended.

As has been the case with earlier arguments in this chapter, the retrospective gazes and mnemonic signifiers observed here do not offer themselves coherently and cohesively to the ethnographic eye. They are jumbled and juxtaposed as they appear and reappear in loci of resistance; this section does not seek to correct this jumbling or impose a coherence which is ethnographically absent. Rather, I present the data as it appears experientially to local participants, and hopefully do justice to the complex webs of meaning which they (re) create in their engagement with history and memory of subordination.

No Pasarán: from bathroom stalls to Facebook walls

The manifestation of retrospective gazes in resistant discourse has already arisen in this chapter, with Ernesto's clothing store and its commercialisation of the republican flag. Historic signifiers appear repeatedly in other forms across the urban landscape, both in protest and in public spaces, politicising the everyday. These signifiers must be approached in the disparate and un-indexed forms in which they appear in the field; only then can we ethnographically represent the perspective of an audience who visually and emotively make up meaning, through recognition and consensus.

Let us return to the Libertad Titiriteros protest of 2016, this time focusing our attention not on readings of the people's right to satire, but on the actuality of protest in the popular central *barrio* of Tirso de Molina. At the Sunday *concentración*, called by the DRY collective on social media, a small crowd of between 45 and 90 people gathered to protest the imprisonment of the puppeteers over the course of an hour and a half. Before the protest began, and long after it finished, the little plaza was flanked by six market stalls. Only one had a sole focus on communication (run by the *Amigos de Corea del Norte,* 'Friends of North Korea' collective). Of the other five, one sold second hand books (primarily Spanish translations of European philosophers, with a focus on Nietzsche and on the existentialists, along with a handful of military histories); one was selling home-printed pamphlets (at the customers' own named price) on topics ranging from feminism to veganism; one was selling assorted accessories with messages from classic punk bands and the circled A of anarchy; one was selling politically-minded memorabilia, with reproductions of medals, busts of Stalin and Lenin, alongside fans in the colours of the Republica and the purple bracelets of Podemos (fig 5.5); the last one was selling t-shirts with an array of printed symbols and messages. This final stall was run by Cristina and her boyfriend, both in their late twenties; their stock of 10 euro t-shirts included prints of Yuri Gagarin, texts by the Miguel Hernandez (a Spanish poet who, under Franco's post-war repression, died in prison in 1942), and the words 'No Pasarán' in a wreath (fig. 5.6).

'We always have a ready-made clientele here on a Sunday', she said to me in between customers. 'But with the protest, it's better too; we came up to this spot to be near it. That way, I can sell my shirts and be part of the protest at the same time'.

It is on this final slogan, 'No Pasarán' ('they shall not pass'), that I wish to focus, since its recurrence in the field shows the array of fashions in which socio-historic content is emotively endorsed, consumed and reproduced. Over the course of fieldwork, the slogan appeared not only on t-shirts but also on the avatars of activist social media pages (as they created webs of shared content in the public eye of online space; the Ateneo Republicano de Vallekas frequently displayed the slogan on its Facebook page). The edifiers analysed in chapter 4, when their communications took online form, would occasionally include images with the slogan, as would individual actors in the city. The most frequently occurring image of the slogan, online, is an archive photo of a banner hung across a cobbled street which reads, in its full text, 'They shall not pass. Fascism wants to conquer Madrid. Madrid will be the final resting place of fascism'. 'It's actually right here on calle Toledo', activist and blogger Alicia told me when we met for an interview near the southern gate into Plaza Mayor. 'Women hung it from their windows, they managed to hang it all the way across the street- it must have been a difficult thing, and a brave thing... Your neighbours would denounce you, even if they just didn't like you. That is why it became so emblematic, and why everybody knows that photo so well'. *No Pasarán* can also be lifted from its archival context, as it traverses spheres of self-publication. The words still frequently appear on picket-signs in protest, but are also repeated through graffiti, and small acts of vandalism on public bathroom walls. The Facebook wall, as a public platform, mimics the time-old role of bathroom stall graffiti, allowing an individual actor to make his textual (re)productions public not only to an immediate attendance, but to a larger anonymous group which stretches forward through time.

On the subject of slogans, Knight (2015) has written that '[they are] pinned to moments of socioeconomic turmoil'. *No Pasarán* adequately fits his analysis, as its use and repetition create anachronistic readings of *who*, in fact, shall not pass. The slogan, and its impact across the twentieth century, deserve a far more detailed analysis than the scope

of this thesis will allow; nevertheless, it demonstrates the forms of recognition and re-use that stem from an identified and accepted socio-historic moment (the defense of Madrid in 1936), transforming shared readings of history into shared readings of resistance and subordination. Finally, it sets resistance not only in a retrospective, but in a romanticised gaze, as local actors equate the slogan with a metonym for 'bravery' and popular resistance in what were, history has proven, crushing odds. An ubiquitous slogan of Spanish discontent, *No Pasarán,* as it is adapted to fit contemporary discourses of resistance, combines pure texts of resistance with retrospective assessments of vulnerability. The audience that sees and partakes in acts of resistance in Madrid is left to fill with meaning the malleable trope of *they* (shall not pass), and in using socio-historic slogans to do so, inscribe their resistance in retrospective stances of 'bavery' and assailability.

Cristina's own view of the slogan featured on her stand was set in more mercantile terms such as 'these are the only ones I have in three different colours' and 'we have a bigger stock of these ones- they always sell well, I remember seeing the slogan during 15M and it resonates'. Over the course of our conversation, she had seemed somewhat reticent. 'We aren't inciting (*instigando*) anything- we make these shirts because it's something to do, with my boyfriend, a way to remain involved. But the *policía*, if they feel like it, they can identify us [legally], they can ask for our permits... there's always trouble'. Indeed, later in the same afternoon, the cordon of Guardia Civil that had been monitoring the protest from its periphery caused disruption, removing a disabled speaker from low wall where organisers had set up (fig 5.7); following this incident, two protesters holding a CNT (worker's union) banner had been formally 'identified'. Cristina, with her stall, had not held explicitly ideological discourses on the symbols and texts she reproduced for sale; rather, her concern had been for the risk of being identified legally and accused of 'inciting'. This small ellipsis- transitioning directly from the material visual symbol to the real risk of legal targeting- implies recognition of these signifiers in a marginal, forced and unjustified subordination to state control. Cristina's comments verbalise this not by clarifying the signifiers' origins or meanings, but by assuming that I, as an interlocutor, would be complicit to them.

Josef and Pablo: juxtaposition and genealogical logics in Alejandro's stall

Turning my ethnographic attention to another vendor present in Tirso de Molina, I was met with Alejandro's stand (fig 5.5). Behind it stood three vendors, and as I came across the stand at two later political gatherings (one a protest against gender violence, again in Tirso de Molina; one an electoral rally for Unidos Podemos, prior to the June 2016 General election), I was able to gather perspectives on the unusual merchandise from two of them. Alejandro was in charge of the stand, and I estimated him to be in his late seventies. He rarely spoke to me directly, though his aide Daniel would ask questions on my behalf. On the day I first met them in Tirso de Molina, I paused to review the items set side by side on the stall. Working from left to right, they included badges with the date 15.05.11 (the 15M occupation), a bronze-coloured bust of Stalin, a bust of Lenin, pin-on red stars, purple ribbons and rubber bracelets printed with Podemos's name and logo, football shirts, caps and rosettes in the Republican red-yellow-purple, the Estreleira flag of nationalist and independentist left in Gallicia, a plaque of the *14 de Abril* figure, and posters of soviet-era art. As a viewer to this jumble of historic communist and republican, and contemporary independentism and Podemos, my initial emotive and analytic response was to the stall's (I thought) inherent dissonances. 'How are all these the same, for you?', I asked Alejandro. 'How are they different?', he shrugged, before leaving to talk to a colleague. From both my and Alejandro's questions stem the following reflections on dissonance and amalgamation in terms of time and ideology. Rather than being incongruous, the juxtaposition of Podemos, the Republican flag, and communist insignia from the Eastern block forms part of the 'internalised cultural understandings that motivate resistance' (Seymour, 2006).

Through his laconic response of 'how are they different', Alejandro gives local voice to Miller's comment on material cultures (of resistance, in this case): that they are organised in terms of attachment and separation (2008: 89). The signifiers placed together on his stall point to seemingly anachronistic and contradictory ideologies. The attachments that they form- between geographically and historically distinct content- are nonetheless

present and visible in everyday activist circles in the city, be it in Alejandro's stall or on the clothes and banners of protesters. I consider that their juxtaposition constitutes a 'contiguity-based macrotrope' (Friedman, in Fernandez et al., 1991), which makes sense of subordination and resistance in analogical time. Actors shopping at, browsing or even passing the stand are encouraged, by the visual juxtapositions it carries, to locate economic injustice, subordination and resistance in both lived (with the 15M and Podemos) and imagined (historic) dimensions. 'Contiguity' (ibid) is created by common opposition to a centralised, dominant power, which shares the qualities of the neo-liberal system. If 'meaning is subject to the intentionality of a pragmatic concept' (Fernandez, 1991: 10), the signifiers no longer form a dissonant jumble but a coherent metaphor, in which the 'pragmatic concept' of resisting dominant economic order is read in the light of the lived experience of crisis. The ensuing amalgamation has appeared once before in this chapter, with Ernesto's decision to produce a clothing line commemorating the centenary of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He had cited his reason to digress from the Republican colours as 'playing into a trend'. The 'trend', or desirability, of C.C.P.P. monogrammed clothing, amongst a clientele self-identifying as resistant in Republican terms, points again to the effective associations formed within resistant actors as they negotiate historic metaphors for their experience.

Actors' reconciliation of ideologically dissonant signifiers intersects the 'cognitive, emotional and relational processes at play in resistant movements' (Tejerina et al., 2013). Once we consider the co-constructive effect that historic tropes and their complicit audiences have on one another, the 'affective' dimensions of protest (Juris, 2008) are no longer limited to interpersonal sentiments of solidarity or similarity in present experience. They are constructed along wider tropes of subordination that extend into the imagined past, creating poetic substance and new metaphors amongst resistant actors (following Fernandez's definition of 'tropes' that 'create poetic substance intentionally or unintentionally', 1991: 29-31). The historic metaphor and its poetic substance explains, for instance, the prevalence of the slogan *No Pasarán* and its application to contemporary grievances. The motivations and meanings of urban resistance, in the wake of financial crisis, therefore reach beyond the solidarity and spontaneity that have been lauded as its

foundational tropes. Emotive responses are not formed only between individuals and crowds sharing a common experience of precarity and hardship; they are collectively formed to analogical tropes of struggle. The historic and mnemonic tropes make a tangible genealogy of resistance, with contiguous experiences of violence and subordination. 'Violence is formative (...), it shapes conceptions of the self and of struggle', according to Feldman (1991, in Robben and Nordstrom, 1995:4). Consider the prevalence of militaristic insignia and slogans amongst the signifiers of Madrileño resistance; signifiers of retrospective, historic tropes, serve to interpret the opacity and ubiquity of neo-liberal violence in terms of unambiguous conflict.

Conclusions on mnemonic signifiers: Time and the similar

The title of this sub-section is a play on Fabian's authoritative work *Time and the Other* (2014), a critique of the mechanisms through which anthropologists and their subjects are constructed in separate conceptual 'time'. I share Fabian's concept of a subjective and politicised use of time, by considering how actors use the signifiers reviewed in this section to recognise themselves and one another as part of a resistant cohort.

In considering influences of history and memory on the actors and audiences of resistance, I must contend with tensions within anthropological practice, concerning the usage of 'memory' outside of the individual act of remembering a lived experience. Berliner (2014) critiques the overextension of memory as a concept within the social sciences, at the risk of losing its original cognitive quality as we rush to consider collective, imagined, politicised, minority and silenced memories. In this case study, of the historic signifiers used and recognised by the complicit audience in protest, the past must be extended past the 'lived'; it is made present by an underlying aesthetic (the pattern in the relationship between people and things, through association and dissociation- Miller, 2008), that both perpetuates its association to resistance and depends on recognition by the complicit audience in order to do so. The collective recognition of the

Republican flag- or the slogan *No Pasarán*- within activist circles, puts contemporary urban resistance in relation to 'a particular past [that] perseveres because it remains relevant for later cultural formations' (Olick and Robbins, 1998, in Berliner, 2005).

This form of social 'remembering', recognising and discussing events that predate actors' lifespan, occurs at the intersection of experience and imagination (Ricoeur, 1979: 5), with one triggering the other provided contiguity exists between the two. Since symbolic signifiers of the Republic and of historic left-wing resistance occur continually in protest landscapes, they shape actors' actual experience of resistance in terms of the past and of collective memory. Hence, 'memonic similes' are collective recognitions that draw from both Nora's 'sides' of history (*Geschichte,* lived history, and *Historie*, authored history-1989), mimicking the memory of previous generations of subordination.

As an actor participates in, walks by, or reads about acts of protest in the city, he or she is continually exposed to flags, slogans and symbols that are bound to, and constitutive of, political identities. Even in passing, on the street, someone wearing one of Ernesto's 'Republica' shirt, the actor is required to recognise the socio-historic content of the symbol, as without this recognition the resistant potential of the symbol is moot. Collectively constructed memory of a traumatic past, and the cultural production of resistance to neo-liberal economic crisis, are entangled in the everyday. As Sutton (2008) notes, on the subject of 'existential memory work', 'the past is a resource for social struggles and identities'. The identities involved in alignment with Civil War factions do not, as in other intra-national conflicts, rely on divisions of ethnicity or religion; they are, as Aguilar (2002) points out, built along an 'invisible divide' to the naked eye. By being complicit to the meanings of historic signifiers, the audience enacts 'greater contextual knowledge [which] is vital to studies of violence, because it challenges facile assumptions about the nature of groups, cultures and boundaries' (Brubaker, 2004: 167-170). The symbolic potential of the Republican flag creates adhesions which cannot exist in evident ethnic or religious terms; it is a signifier of 'the past, felt to be an intrinsic part of selves and subjectivities' (Sutton, 2008: 86). Subjectivities are open to be constituted by the embracing of the resistant semiotics shared by the complicit audience. As a caveat, this

explains, in part, the retrospective scale of the signifiers discussed in this chapter. The most predominant socio-historic signifiers are collectively rooted back to twentieth-century struggle and conflict rather than, say, a collective remembering of Napoleonic wars in the age of Spanish empire. Contiguity, I conclude, is not with the past as a whole, but with a certain reading of a *vanquished* past, which proves itself to be a critical resource for interpreting power and subordination in present crises.

5. Conclusions on the Complicit Audience: meanings, silence, and community.

The gaps and silences left in resistant discourses of subordination and solidarity are filled, as local actors construct readings of semiotic socio-history to be individually and collectively understood as 'resistance'. In this final section, I consider the modes of transmission at play within the complicit audience, and how these enable subjective and malleable meanings to spread horizontally. Furthermore, I return to the question of mnemonics, to propose new questions on how retrospective gazes and nostalgia shape contemporary resistance.

Defending the value of internalised cultural meanings

This chapter has been concerned with the fragmentary and juxtaposed semiotics at play within the resistant landscapes, both online, in the city and discursively. The meanings of these symbols are constructed both collectively and subjectively; I have, I hope, successfully identified some of the cogent examples of this process in the field of Madrileño resistance. The red, yellow and purple flag of the Republica sees its meaning lifted from purely historic concerns, to become a hollow category (Theodossopoulos, 2010) to be filled with expressions of indignation, but also of retrospective romanticisation, or of association to a given locale or community deemed positive by the

individual gaze. Along with the other 'cultural idioms' (Clifford, 1988) reviewed here, it 'becomes textualised, and is no longer tied to particular actors: it assumes a relatively stable relation to a given context' (Clifford, 1988: 103).

Signifiers form a tangible, if jumbled, part of the fabric of 'cultures of resistance' (Taussig, 1980). Reading into their binding effect amongst actors goes, to some extent, against the anti-psychological stance assumed by much of anthropology (Seymour, 2006), by considering the internalised cultural understandings that motivate resistance (ibid). Tackling the internal understandings of resistant signifiers that are experienced visually, aurally, and repeated without an accompanying textual hermeneutic, makes for discontinuous ethnographic matter. However, to overlook them is to homogenise the field. Resistance, like Carnival itself, 'mingles incompatible symbols and juxtaposes latent contrasts' (Bakhtin, 1984, in Gilmore, 1998: 156), as I have discussed in section 3. Its signifiers, and their interpretations, allow actors to construct pluralistic experiences of crisis and power which outreach the neo-liberal economic divide of crisis. Actors, voluntarily or passively, legitimise their resistance in symbolic and mnemonic terms; to do them analytic justice, we must expand our reading of local resistance to allow for its idiosyncratic complexities, not isolate it in the economic terms of crisis.

Implications of transmission and repetition

According to Gedi and Elam (1996, in Berliner, 2005), 'collective memory has taken up the space the area previously occupied by myth' in anthropological readings. In the case of the signifiers reviewed in this chapter, this statement has some validity. The shared, horizontally transmitted within a group, and romanticised semiotics of the audience in resistance make sense of neo-liberal crisis, violence and injustice. By recognising a metaphoric subordination (of the Republica) as aesthetically contiguous with their own, actors elevated their experience-frame from the *geschichte* to the *historie* (Nora, 1989), and imbue its representation with poetics (Fernandez, 1991). Let us consider briefly the question of violence: it is a trope in crisis protest, with marginalised economic actors

referring to the theft and physical violence (starvation, eviction) imposed by instigators of austerity. Violence is omnipresent, yet perpetrated within frameworks of governance that evade accountability, through the opacity of their practices (Graeber, 2011; Della Porta and Caiani, 2009; Kapferer, 2010). As actors align their experiences with a genealogy of subordination harking back to armed conflict, they interpret opaque neoliberal practices in terms of imposed violence and moral resistance. As Arendt (1972, in Bernstein, 2011: 169) argues, 'much of the present glorification of violence is caused by sever frustration of the faculty of choice in the modern world'. In the field, these interpretations are not voiced, and no hermeneutic is necessary for the resistant actor to recognise and reproduce signifiers of resistance. As is the case with myth in the classical sense, no production or origin acknowledgements are necessary to the reproduction and interpretation of metaphoric content (Ovid, 2001).

Since the signifiers are open to subjective interpretation and reuse in the resistant landscape, they, as performative signs, 'may be wrested from their prior usages if the structural dimension of language is emphasised over the historical' (Butler, 1997: 148). The malleability of symbols, which are continually filled with meaning by their audiences, opens them to mistranslation. 'Fidelity is neither necessary nor sufficient in an imitation hypothesis', states Morin (2016: 58) on the subject of cultural transmission. If we consider the texts and subtexts of resistant actors in Madrid to constitute 'traditions', rather than just a culture, of resistance, then 'they [too] often get distorted with no dire consequences for their survival' (ibid: 7). In his study of the evolution of traditions, Morin identifies the 'wear and tear' problem: the cumulation of errors that can be contained within one symbolic value, as it is copied over and over again. This cultural-evolutionary perspective explains the 'dissonance' that I (if I may resort to auto-ethnography) initially felt when analysing the jumbling of communist, republican, Podemos and independentist insignia on Alejandro's market stall. The divergent ideological origins of these signifiers are overruled by their continual juxtaposition in protest landscapes, which enables local actors to read them in terms of similarities and continuity. As an outsider coming in to these visual amalgamations, we might all utter in disbelief 'how are these the same?'; they

are not, nor does Alejandro consider them to be so; but his subjective experience of activism allows him to read them in the parallels set up by internalised juxtapositions.

Nostalgia and Narcissism: questions for the study of retrospective gazes in resistance.

Nostalgia is a booming field in the anthropology of post-socialist nations (Angé and Berliner, 2014), considering emotive attachments to the past. While I address certain aspects of nostalgia in chapters 3, 6 and 7 of this thesis, I wish here to address its value in conceptualising the complicit audience. The 'complicity' evidenced here is bound to collective meaning-constructs around certain signifiers, some of which pertain to an historic past of Spanish resistance. Scott, in his 2014 treatise on anarchism, cites a Sartrian existentialist argument which I would like to lift from its anarchist reading, and apply to resistance at large. The argument is one of retrospective justification: that a man, once he has performed or aligned with an act of resistance, can 'call himself the type of man' who would oppose unjust power, and can 'find a narrative that accounts for what he did' (Sartre, in Scott, 2012: 135). The past gives actors in resistance the same potential, to align with a moral or political prerogative and justify their positionality retrospectively. I believe this to be confirmed by the timeline of memory favoured in resistant signifiers, which runs back to the 1936 coup against the Republic, drawing much of its material from the ensuing resistance and defeat of the regime. In applying these tacit boundaries to resistant memory, actors locate their experience as one of imposed, rather than voluntary, violence. The willingness to amalgamate contemporary crisis resistance is materialised in the flag, the portrait of *14 Abril*, and in the use *rojo* as a metonym for righteous resistance against imposed aggression. These objects and images, as they come into contact with new and established resistants, are 'constitutive, not epiphenomenal, of nostalgia' (Bartmanski, 2011).

The stopping of the clock in 1936, and the signifiers that grow to become commonplace, evidence a local 'left-wing nostalgia' amongst Madrid's resistant actors and audiences.

Rethman, critically, suggests that 'left-wing nostalgia' represents a form of 'narcissism in terms of one's own political identity and attachments' (in Angé and Berliner, 2014: 202). This form of nostalgia, by association rather than lived memory, contributes to the binding aesthetic of the audience, complicit to its moralistic claims.

I conclude with a reflexive remark on the ethnography behind this chapter. In her account of 'accidental ethnography', Fujii (2014) says that 'researchers can turn non-data into data, by paying systematic attention to unplanned or accidental moments in the field'. Their value is 'not in what they tell us about the particular, but in what they suggest about the larger political and social world in which they are embedded'. The identification and exploration of the complicit audience arose from moments of ethnographic frustration. Cristina's ellipsis over the *actual* political meaning of her logos; Alejandro's laconic response to the glaring ideological inconsistencies on his stall; even Lucia's description of wanting the *14 abril* print because 'it's cool', and associating it with a bar in La Latina with no major political clout; all these moments were scrawled in the margins of early fieldwork as I sought to fill my expected frameworks of political meaning with ethnographic data. When inconsistencies, partial participation, even lack of knowledge, amongst the resistant base became apparent, so too did the complex but meaningful dynamics through which they still succeed in identifying one another as resistant, and in aligning their own political experience within wider aesthetics of resistance.

Chapter Six

Subliminal architectures: how space and landscape contribute to shaping the outcome of urban resistance.

Abstract:

Ingold (1993) convincingly argues that 'landscape' is best understood as the sum of the human activities (or 'tasks') that its inhabitants carry out, shaping both its physicality and its semiotic weight. In the case of Madrid, the urban landscape has been impacted upon by renewed activism, and resistance to austerity, in times of crisis. This chapter has a dual focus: first, it examines punctual acts of protest, and their relation to their given environment; secondly, it draws upon the urban landscape not in actors' focus but in their peripheral vision, as rumour, reputation and memory contend to create local understandings of accountability, legitimacy and violence. A deeper reading of space, as both a locale for resistance and a narrative and semiotic object, sheds light on the challenges faced by resistance to neo-liberal practice at the local level in Spain.

1. Introduction

We had been turning for some time amongst small, steep alleys, when Beto squinted up at the new tiled street signs and spun around. 'This street does not exist', he said. 'Check the address on your phone again.' The address we were both looking for was Calle Torrecilla del Leal, a minor capillary located in the East of Lavapies, where the lively neighbourhood pauses for breath as it peters out into the wider streets (and cheaper rents) south of Atocha. The object of my interest, in Calle Torrecilla del Leal, was the cultural centre *La Marabunta*; it was billed as the birthplace of Podemos, and repeatedly mentioned in the online circles around the party. Finally, we turned onto a narrow street with a disorienting bend in the middle, where we had in fact walked earlier. 'Here, *por fin,* at last, said Beto, counting his way down to number 32. 'It's shut'.

We were met at this, the end of our exploration and phone mapping, with a weathered metal blind covered in the illegible graffiti ubiquitous in the area. Beto pointed to an accumulation of small detritus at the base of the blind, and to sun-bleached and rain-warped printer paper signs taped to a smaller, shuttered window. 'It's going to stay closed too, by the looks of things'. We paced the front of the locale to a square, yellow plaque which read: 'Here stood La Marabunta, a place of great conspiracies. Birthplace of Podemos in January 2014. In memory of our friend and *compañero* (companion, colleague), Álvaro Tejero Barrios'.

This event took place in the mid-summer of 2015, as I spend a week doing location scouting and pre-fieldwork in the city. I had met Beto, a self-published poet in his early sixties, two nights before. He had been attending a small sitting protest at the Puerta del Sol, which I returned to four times over the course of a week; the attendance was usually between 8 and 14 people, but at least two at a time covered the *permanencia* (continuation or residence) of this small *ocupación*. The object of the protest was the Ley Mordaza (see chapter 3), but my conversations with Beto had primarily been on writing- his, mine. He had agreed to meet me in La Libre in Lavapies the next day, to bring me one of his poetry

books. As often was the case with the authors, academics and content-writers whom I interviewed in the course of fieldwork, conversation turned to the rationale behind my research itself. Participants commented on whether it was a 'good subject', a bad one, a tough one. Beto, in this instance, shook his head at my naiveté. 'Resistance in Madrid' he chuckled. 'And how many years did you say you were going to be here? Because I'm sixty-two and I wouldn't say that I understand it!'. As he asked me where I planned to start, I mentioned the online ethnography that had highlighted various sites of resistant activities, like associative headquarters or cultural cafés. 'Actually, there's one close by here', I said, 'but I couldn't find it on my way down'. And so this is how we began a short walking search of Calle Torrecilla del Leal 32. Beto, living in the south-western residential area of Carabanchel, claimed that he didn't actually spend that much time in Lavapies. He came to sell books sometimes, and when he was in the centre he liked to go North of the Gran Via, to Malasaña. 'That's why I didn't know this place', he explained as we walked back downhill from the closed store-front. 'I don't think I ever came here. Of course, I support Podemos and what they're doing, but Lavapies- it's just too *hipster* (sic) and too expensive now'- he nodded back at the place where, formerly, 'stood la Marabunta'- 'clearly'.

This apparently fruitless search for a site of research-interest was by no means an isolated event in the two years of fieldwork for this thesis. Discrepancies between cyberethnographic data on sites of activism and their urban actuality shaped much of the early research, and ultimately informed its perspectives on the challenges and shortcomings of political resistance altogether. As evidenced by my and Beto's search, the landscape in which resistance finds itself is changing- in this short vignette alone, a bookshop closed under economic pressure; a local activist bemoaned the shift in a whole neighbourhood; a phone was necessary to locate a landmark at all; and in its place, a commemorative sign made visible its 'conspiratorial' quality. Beto, who classed his political engagement as 'marginal' ('mostly I am involved because of other artists, people I know'), has a reaction to the closed *Marabunta* which, if analysed more closely, is directly informed by its physical form in the landscape in which he discovers it. The metal blinds and the metal commemorative plaque are juxtaposed; the self-published poet,

observing them, juxtaposes economic pressures and the 'place of great conspiracies', the former ultimately forcing the latter into inactivity. *La Marabunta* never became a significant field site for this project (I even lost contact with Beto after this meeting- he lived in a temporary flat share and had only a pay-as-you-go phone). Nevertheless, the act of finding it closed, and the residual meaning left by the physical site, are ethnographically consistent with a deeper reading of the relations between economic impetus and grassroots readings of space.

The readings of the city as a landscape frequently rely on shared assumptions. I once interviewed an American history professor, and a Spanish language professor, whom I had met as they guided exchange students around in the Complutense campus. On a seemingly inane introductory question ('where do you live?'), the American professor gave a nervous laugh. 'Oh, I don't live near here, we live over in Pozuelo (de Alarcon, a suburb to the west of Moncloa)'. Her colleague, a Spanish professor in her forties, replied in mock-shock: '*You*? Alright then!'. 'Agh- yes, I know' sighed the first professor. 'It wouldn't really be my choice- my husband's family is from there. But yes, *super pijo* [grimace]'. 'Pijo' translates loosely as anything that signifies to the world that you are economically privileged, from sartorial codes to accents or occupations. This short exchange shows the two actors, in the space of one question, establishing a shared reading of the quality of a space- the Spanish professor needing only intonate shock for her American counterpart to match her reaction, confirming the perceived *pijo* quality of her residential neighbourhood. The inflections used (pretend-shock, grimacing) are executed without verbal elaboration; the qualities of Pozuelo de Alarcón, at least amongst these academics, are mutually recognised as incongruous with the assumed persona of a Complutense professor.

Such readings of the semiotic qualities of space are inherited from a shared past (collective memory) and shared experiences (autobiographical memory) (Kattaga, 2015; Crinson. 2005). Both contribute to space and place playing a role in local dissent, as it continually rekindles and extinguishes the potential for resistance. Landscape makes visible (and audible- Ingold, 1993) unresolved local contest for accountability and

recognition. I contend, over the course of this final chapter, that the relations which people keep with their urban landscape ultimately contribute to set resistance in a negative form of nostalgia, an aesthetic of disenchantment. The 'place of great conspiracies' has a metal blind across its door and detritus gathering at its feet.

This chapter begins with a methodological review of 'landscape', in which I draw out key literature in the approach to Madrid as a site of struggle, contest and collective imaginary. With this review complete, I go on to consider the economics of landscape; returning to arguments made in chapter 3, I consider local discourses around the uses and rights to space in a neo-liberal context. The section highlights the key role of crisis in provoking a shift in relations to property and accountability. The last two sections of this chapter consider the collective imaginaries at play in actors' relations to their landscape. I consider the local impact of Ingold's 'tasks', as the tasks of activism reshape the spaces in which resistance is carried out. I conclude with the ethnographic analysis of an annual event in which contemporary activism and collective memory go hand in hand, a commemoration of civilian victims of Francoist repression held in the Almudena cemetery, east of Madrid. The yearly event brings to light the tropes of the landscape as strata, of official memorials and of landscape as a tool of collective remembering. I contend that, in the context of contemporary Madrileño resistance, the crisis has brought about a reversal of Nora's famous claim that 'there are *lieux* de mémoire because there are no longer *milieux* de mémoire (real environments of memory)' (Nora, 1989 in Kattaga, 2015). As the inhabitants of Madrid negotiate readings of their own and past subordination into their everyday landscape, they create grassroots *milieux de mémoire,* where the economic impetus of modernising and utilising landscape has left insufficient room for the effective institution of *lieux de mémoire.*

2. The epistemological complexity and importance of landscape.

Anthropologies of space and of human habitat are, as we know them today, necessarily affected by the new impetus put on globalisation studies in the 1980s (Shankland, 2012). A widespread concern has grown within the discipline, as we grapple with the dynamics of global power and representation that impact upon our fields of study. This concern is frequently expressed in reflexive analysis of what it means to be 'in' a field site, and what the relation of the anthropologist to his studied habitat means in terms of power and representation (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997; Kokot, 2007). In the wake of post-modern critique, we the anthropologists concern ourselves with the webs and connections that lift our fields out of isolation, all the while reflecting on the inherent spatial politics that lead us to do so.

While the anthropological concern with space has grown to include environmental, urban and communications fields, its profligacy has not necessarily coincided with an increase in the analytical sharpness of the concept of 'space' or 'landscape'. Particularly within the realm of urban landscape, as is the concern of this chapter, the lion's share of theoretical analysis continues to be carried out by sociologists, human geographers, urban planners and historians (Low, 1999). Anthropology needs to weigh in on qualitative readings of urban space, without which we cannot hope to unpack the subjective, grassroots meanings which make up local readings of urban space. I argue, in this chapter, that these meanings- which bypass, ignore or sometimes go against the science of urban planning- are crucial in the analysis of urban resistance and its frameworks. While constructed space is recognised as 'inherently meaningful' (Bachelard, 1964), this more often reflects urban organisation- landscape as a 'powerful language for asserting ideologically based models of community life' (Rotenberg, in Low, 1999)- concerned with the organisation of social life, rather than the local experience of space. In the case of Madrid, this would be illustrated by studying, for instance, the ideological impetus behind the renovation and relocation of business quarters such as Chamartín (home to Madrid's four skyscrapers). This can, from a human geography perspective, inform research on the planning of economic activity in the city, the shifting relation between centre and periphery, and the emergence of the service industry. In my approach to landscape, I emphasise the role not

of the planned urban landscape, but of the incidental, subliminal meanings that the city as a habitat holds for its resistant actors.

In my conceptualisation of landscape, I am greatly indebted to Ingold's (1993) seminal text on *the Temporality of Landscape*, particularly its linkages between space and human activity. I do not develop in depth any analysis of Madrid as a landscape for the ethnographic gaze; the scope of this chapter is set not on 'siting culture' (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997) as much as it is on analysing local discourses and relations to landscape. Giner (2004) proposes an approach, in his *Antropología Urbana,* which has proven relevant in the study of urban space as a protest-scape- namely, that we approach the urban landscape from the point of view of mediation structures and social movements. His correlation of movements to their spaces allows for urban landscapes to be considered in terms of the perceived qualities, which become facts of that same space as they are perceived and propagated by actors (Marrero-Guillamón, 2003). I call upon reflexive and auto-ethnographic considerations of space when they are relevant, highlighting the opacity and morphous nature of the resistant habitat. Over the course of two years' fieldwork, sites of interest have remained inaccessible: the meeting place of the PCE, in an unmarked building in Puerta de Toledo; the headquarters of the 15M Madrid chapter which, by 2016, had been converted primarily into a bicycle repair shop; the Tabacalera cultural centre, to which I had been invited to witness a debate concerning migrants, turning out to be a labyrinth of graffiti in which one was likely to witness skateboarding, drug use or, on one memorable occasion, was closed altogether due to allegations of dog-fighting. These inconclusive sites of fieldwork need to be addressed not merely in terms of ethnographic failure, but in the opaque and sometimes inaccessible and inconsistent nature of the landscape of resistance itself. Their qualities reflect the 'conspiratorial' quality addressed in the introduction, as well as the hidden texts and spaces of resistance within which actors evolve on a daily basis.

Considering landscape in terms of activity

Ingold (1993) opens the field for qualitative analysis of the physical and metaphorical sinews of landscape, by noting that 'landscape is not something you can see, anymore than you can see the weight of physical objects' (1993: 153). The weight of an object might be evaluated subjectively in reference to another: this one probably heavier or lighter than the other. In terms of the landscape you cannot see, Ingold references the role of human activity involved in creating it: the landscape is 'best understood as the number of activities through which people engage with places, as well as the history of those engagements' (1993: 180). His analysis extends the archaeological imperative, of considering landscape as culture rather than nature (Souvatzi, in Shankland, 2012: 174); however, his focus on the 'taskscape' avoids the determinism of isomorphic views of space, place and culture (ibid). Through the 'taskscape', the landscape- as a cultural as well as physical entity- has the potential to be transformed by the actions of its inhabitants- its 'weight' subject to shift from below and within.

The opening sentence of Tilley and Cameron-Daum's *Anthropology of Landscape* (2017) reads: 'landscape is a subject of study that belongs to nobody'. It is open to a wide range of epistemological approaches, from the archaeological and the geographical to the literary and poetic. This conceptual looseness of 'landscape' leaves it open not only to a range of disciplinary analyses, but also to the readings and actions impressed upon it by local inhabitants. In acts of protest, these actors change the landscape visually, erecting tents, signs or concentrating human bodies in a locus of passage. The 'task' or activity of occupying a square, even for a short period, imposes new immobility onto a space of urban passage and circulation. The landscape is changed aurally; the chants of protesters, the use of horns or percussion, announce a shift in the utilisation of public space before the crowd is even seen. Inversely, political activism sometimes makes itself known to the city by silence, countering the daily racket of the tasks which are carried out there daily (see sections 3 and 4). Acampada Sol's use of non-verbal consent and dissent signifiers, in its debates and assemblies, affected readings of the public square as a place of racket and passage- in turn shifting definitions of protest as racket and disruption.

The 'tasks' of resistance also take the shape of graffiti, flyers or stickers, which end up worn and torn on the lamp posts beside every pedestrian crossing, impacting the peripheral vision of walkers in extended time. Minor acts of vandalism, such as sticker-placing, resonate both with their literary message (for instance, 'No les Votes, Nunca!': 'Do not vote for them- ever!') and the inherent marginality of their nature; the sticker disrupts municipal property, and public space, setting their message opposite the tasks of consumption or production which participants typically engage with while passing them.

This impact of the protest on the landscape extends beyond the group of protesters themselves, creating focal and peripheral viewpoints for all members of the urban society. In November 2017, while walking through Sol, I noticed a small installation in the centre of the square. It was a continued action leftover from the march for women's rights, which had gathered large crowds the day before, denouncing gender violence. While my friend hurried on, anxious to get out of the crowd of street vendors and tourists, I paused to quickly photograph the installation. The predominant first impression was of the colour red- red candles, red shoes, red *mantillas* (shawls) and red-stained sheets littered the ground, surrounded by handwritten and printed signs bearing the phrases *'cobardes, asesinos de mujeres!'* ('women-killers, cowards') and '*maltrato familiar, fascismo en el hogar'* ('domestic abuse: fascism in the home'). As I caught up with my friend, she asked casually: 'what was it about then? Still the women thing?'. Her correct guessing of the theme of the protest could stem from both prior knowledge of the march (which, she confirmed, she had not participated in- as a waitress, it had conflicted with her schedule). It is also plausible that in her rushing to avoid the crowd of the square, she caught sight of the visual signifiers of the installation: the shoes, the *mantillas*, the colour red. In this busy square, the landscape had successfully (temporarily) been politicised by symbolic colours and items. The shoes, in particular, echo the semiotics of trauma and loss associated with genocide. The confiscated shoes of Holocaust victims have become ubiquitous objects of remembrance in exhibitions and textbooks across the western world (Olick and Demetriou, 2006). The actions of the protesters, in this instance, re-articulated a space of footfall (the ground in the square) into a tableau of trauma and victimhood which called upon viewers' existing frameworks of interpretation.

To return to Ingold's definition of the 'taskscape', I must nuance the definition of resistance as 'tasks'. Ingold defines these as 'any practical operation carried out by a skilled agent in a given environment'- this, I believe, computes with acts of political resistance. The agent is 'skilled' in that he is equipped with an understanding of dissent, necessary to the articulation of resistance. It is a 'practical operation', a practice that operates a change on the 'given environment'- it inscribes either a visual, written, symbolic or aural text into the city. The 'given environment' can, in this instance, be extended to include the online spaces which concentrate much contemporary self-published activism, making it visible through time in much the same way the stickers on lamp posts are. Ingold's definition continues, however, to specify that tasks are carried out by skilled agents 'as part of [their] normal business of life'. From this line, my consideration of resistant landscapes in Madrid must diverge. Shift in participants' readings of their landscape are operated by tasks that they perform extraordinarily, or by the witnessing of tasks performed by others which they consider as going against the 'normal business of life'. By limiting the 'tasks' of resistance to the 'normal business of life', we limit the environmental impact of resistance to a small set of hardened activists for whom protest is indeed an everyday activity. I contend that the vast number of local actors who do not self-identify as activists also carry out 'practical operations' of endorsing certain urban projects (such as occupations), rejecting others (such as municipal expenditure), or choosing to patronise a certain bar or cafe over another. These micro-acts of resistance by endorsement depend on inherent understandings of the landscape and of its symbolic capital, as it is shaped and reshaped by peers and media. On the subject of perceived socio-economic qualities of urban space in Spain, Marrero-Guillamón (2003) considers that lived and economic spaces acquire perceived qualities in local actors' perception; following an ANT approach to the urban space itself, these qualities are then urban reality. His 'historiography' observes how urban spaces acquire these qualities (following the gentrification of Barcelona's Poblenou area) grapple with local constructs of 'patrimonio', or the inherited quality of space, and the impact of reform from above (understood as gentrification). Performative, relational entanglements are seen as constructive of spaces' qualities

(Marrero-Guillamón, 2013) echo in the city scape of Madrid, as the socio-economic and political qualities of space impact upon those who inhabit or occupy them.

Considering the landscape, in terms of the tasks that animate and shape it, opens up subjective readings behind its material facade. Since protest, for a majority of discontented actors, constitutes an exceptional moment in time (see chapters 3 and 4), we must address the 'subliminal' readings of space which actors constitute and call upon, without 'explicitly thinking about what they're doing in a routinized and habitual manner' (Tilley and Cameron-Daum, 2017). People's readings of their own landscapes depend on handed-down information (and thus a form of verbal history), and on aesthetic readings of material space (that this place or this one is propitious to protest; that this wealthy neighbourhood is incompatible with the left wing tropes of a Complutense academic). While the built environment plays an essential role in the shaping of the landscape as culture, in Madrid since 2011 it is the actions or tasks of its inhabitants that have most impacted social readings of urban space.

Landscape and time

Informants in Madrid, in the presence of a researcher, would frequently articulate their expressions of the urban landscape along two distinct lines; when addressing me as a northern-European outsider, descriptive emphasis would be on the spatial (where exactly this square or community centre was, how far they now had to travel to work, which metro lines were nearby). When matters of landscape arose in discussions amongst Madrileños as peers (and, eventually, including me as a long-term resident), the emphasis shifted to far more affective constructions of space, calling upon shared experiences and shared knowledge of the anecdotal over the spatial. These two descriptive methods, reminiscent of wider dialectics of rational and emotive constructs, confirm Ingold's premise that landscapes are 'entwined knots of meaningful association that are very different from mere dots on a spatial map' (2007: 101). Since networks of resistance are reliant on peer-to-peer dissemination and mutual understanding of political and social contexts (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015), then the emotive or affective readings of the landscape in which they

are performed outweigh the structural evaluations that actors might make of the same space.

The Madrid landscape, since 2011, has gone through temporal shifts which appeal to actors' lived experience (such as the 15M as a 'revolutionary moment' (Lazar, 2015) and its 'fading into mundane political time' (ibid), as protest effervescence fades into perceived institutional quagmire). The financial crisis itself creates a shift in the stability of the landscape's temporal strata: forward-moving economic tropes of modernity are halted in their progress; spaces of consumption and leisure are reclaimed as spaces of discontent; and signifiers of past and contemporary inequality are brought to the fore of the built environment. 'Progress', in the Neo-liberal economic sense, covers each layer of its past with the sediment of forward-driven activity. The moment of crisis brings about a 'revisiting of the landscape' (Ingold, 1993) during which the break in economic drive opens up space for examining both personal and collective experiences of economic violence, injustice and even trauma. I turn once again to Ingold's analysis of the archaeological landscape: 'to engage with the landscape is a form of remembrance, not calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, but engaging with an environment itself pregnant with the past' (1993: 152). I contend that both 'internal images' *and* engagement with the environment 'pregnant with the past' are formative in shaping the texts and reach of resistance. The 'internal image' is, most literally, an autobiographical memory held by a participant of an experience within the landscape; this includes of course participation in the occupation of Puerta del Sol in 2011, but also smaller instance such as witnessing an argument between pro and anti-migrant factions in a protest in Moncloa, being present at a controversial puppet show in Tetuán, or being made to feel uncomfortable while lingering near the police guard at the Cortes. These everyday experiences of the urban environment grow, as they are imbued with the images and references shared amongst resistant networks (see chapter 5); *historias* ('stories') are constructed in feedback systems with *Historia* ('history'). Inglis's (1977: 489) argument that 'landscape is the most solid form in which history can declare itself' resonates in Madrid: it is in part through the buildings and burials of the landscape that questions of history, retribution and amnesty are brought to the fore.

The complexity of the urban environment renders it partly opaque to both the researcher and the inhabitant alike; a simpler empirical approach would be to consider it simply as the stage for contemporary resistance, unpacking only its physical framing of protests and networks. To go beyond this primary, empirical reading of landscape, is to open up troublesome questions of accountability and collective imaginaries in a contested past. The researcher is then forced to consider how the built environment and its inherent subjectivity shape the narratives and outcome of resistance.

3. Crisis, ownership and the economic landscape

Crisis and landscapes of exclusion

With Spain's economic growth geared towards ideals of 'modernity' in meeting European standards of consumption and lifestyle (Tsampra, 2018), inhabitants' relation to their built environment has become inherently economic. Even post-crisis, social life and its yearly rhythms in Madrid remain influenced by consumption patterns in keeping with liberal economic ideals. In July and in the weeks after Epiphany, the *rebajas* (sales) create a hub of sociality alongside their commercial imperative. 'We stop for coffee here, for a break, because it's a terribly long day and it's so crowded!' explained a friend of a friend, a young woman in her twenties, who we happened to meet at the Starbucks on the popular Calle Fuencarral. I asked if they had found any good deals. 'Oh, you know, this and that...'. She eyed their small collection of store branded bags. 'But then, I don't care if I really find anything- the shops are all a mess anyway! But it's a reason for us to come into the centre for a day out, we get our Starbucks, we can walk around and see people and get *animo* (energy). But for the things we actually need to buy, we will probably just go to the *centro commercial* in Pueblo Nuevo! [a mall west of Madrid]'. Another account of shopping as practice came from Alberto, a retired history teacher, to whom I had suggested we meet

for an interview at a coffee shop near the Opera. This was in the second week of December. His response was an exasperated groan: 'no-one can possibly go anywhere near there for another three or four weeks. It'll take me twenty minutes just to walk from Callao to Arenal! [a 150m distance at most]. That whole area is a no-go.' He was right, and not alone in holding this opinion; the entire area between Sol, Gran Via and the Opera was solid with crowds that weekend, with walking becoming more akin to queuing. Alberto and I discussed it again when we did meet (in Conde Duque, well away from the area). 'It's infernal', he said. 'It has become absolutely infernal. Because you know this is how we have to do the holidays now! It used to be, Christmas you had a family meal, but then the presents for the children were all on *Reyes* (epiphany). Now, people get their kids presents for Reyes, but then your kids have heard that elsewhere children get Santa, and we have Santa images everywhere.... So there, you have to get gifts from Santa too! And have two parties! Nobody can even go to Calle Arenal until January 7th.' He swore at the gullibility of the crowds. But who went, I asked, if everyone knew it was an impassible, unpleasant shopping experience, and why? 'Maybe people not from Madrid!' he laughed. 'It's the people from the outskirts, and also the *pijas* (well-to-do) old women with their fur coats. They're easy to spot with the furs! Them, and their sons and their children, they all have to go to the Corte Ingles in Callao or Argüelles, and they have to get the cake at la Mallorquina [a bakery on Puerta del Sol] and you know you just have to be out, around Christmas time, spending money. Because that's what people do, and this area is where people see you do it'.

Both Alberto's and the young women's comments correlate social and economic activity in the city, the first with the impetus to make consumption visible to others, the second, with the *animo* one gets from the crowd, and the pleasures of being out and mingling in a time of collective consumption. In both instances, the urban landscape is related to in economic terms (it is busy, impassible, messy, energetic) which rely on commercial rather than productive qualities. This is not an economic relation to the environment in a strictly Marxist sense, but rather imbued with the qualities of Neo-Liberal freedom to consume (Della Porta and Caiani, 2009; Klein, 2007; Graeber, 2011). I draw here upon arguments made in Spanish urban anthropology, namely Delgado (2019). In the study of ‘public

space as ideology', Delgado confronts conflicting qualities of urban space as the 'realisation of citizenship, democracy civics and consensus'- a condensation of the texts that made up the original 15M protests in the public square. The data presented in this chapter considers these questions further, as urban resistant actors seek to achieve or denounce the 'harmonising public space and capitalism' (Deldago, 2019). This tension is present as participants utilize urban space and its cultural capital to coordinate demands for social and political reform, and for the recognition of socio-historic malpractice in terms of memory recovery.

In these terms, the impact of crisis and austerity on the relationship to landscape is the greatest, severing its sufferers from the collective consumption imperative in the city's streets.

Discussions of the dynamics of crisis frequently reference *la Burbuja*, 'the Bubble'. The term gives the sense of a fabricated membrane between actors and economic realities, which has been altered by crisis. Alonso et al. (2015) identify a shift in people's readings of crisis and accountability between 2010 and 2014, which relates to subjective understandings of this 'bubble'. They identify two key axes of discussion. In the years immediately after the crash of 2008, the dominant rhetoric centered on individual responsibility for economic malpractice- concretely expressed as 'living beyond our means'. Alonso et al. posit that the bipartite political powers of 2008 encouraged narratives of collective responsibility, denying the existence of a manufactured bubble as they clung to tropes of economic success in their respective terms at the reins of the country. The dominant rhetoric in my fieldwork years (2016-2017) matches the shift which Alonso et al. (2015; 2017) identify, from collective malpractice to blame placing on the creators of the *burbuja.* The popular slogan, often seen in 15M, goes: 'No es una crisis; es una estafa!' ('it's not a crisis, it's a scam!'). The shift in local constructions of accountability has had repercussions on how people experience their economic landscapes in the city: the resentment of blind consumerism around Christmas time, or the desire to participate in the *rebajas* without the necessary imperative to buy anything in particular, both evidence critique and resilience in the face of a city which goes on imbuing the social with the commercial, regardless of the shift in experiences of

consumption brought about by crisis. 'People stop caring, once they have enough for their new phone and their *gintonics*, they just want to get on with buying', once lamented my communist activist informant Daniel. His view on the prevalence of commercial activities in the urban landscape and embraced by its (even impoverished) inhabitants, echoes a point made by Aguilar (2002) on the economic growth in times of autoritarianism, under Franco: 'the regime deliberately subsumed the memory of the war (...) with[in] economic progress and the rise of the standard of living' (2002: 25). The flattening of political discontent and awareness by the imperative to consume echoes in times of crisis, where participants sense that the moral (indignation and political awareness) collides with the material. According to Daniel, the political conscience of victims of austerity does not stand up to their drive to consumption, with wider questions of livelihood and economic justice obfuscated by mobile phones and gin and tonics.

Readings of resistant spaces: the case of La Tabacalera

Landscapes of exclusion are made tangible to local actors, not only as they themselves engage with protest, but also as they witness resistant processes on the periphery of their everyday activities. As discussed in chapters 1, 2 and 3, this occurred for a large subset of partial 15M participants once the occupation of the square outlasted the 2011 elections by several weeks. As the effervescence of the unprecedented protest died down, discussions rapidly turned to structural considerations of economic space- who was paying for the clean-up, who was losing out while these protesters occupied the square for free. To repurpose Narotzky and Besnier's (2014) terminology, the 'value' of 'hope', once the space of protest is once again painted in economic terms, is overtaken by a value of fear- experiences of crisis and loss weave into the Neoliberal imperative and reproduce readings of space driven by consumption and production.

In the years following the disbanding of 15M from the Puerta del Sol, new spaces have become perceived nodes of resistance and dissent in the city. La Tabacalera, a former tobacco processing plant in the southern area of Embajadores, is now a *centro autogestionado*- a self-regulated cultural centre which exists with the permission of the

ayuntamiento. I will now attempt to do justice to the materiality and symbolic value of this locale, drawing out top-down and grassroots constructions of the qualities associated with this space in particular, and urban resistance in general.

At first viewing, the Tabacalera is a vast facade, extending for an entire *manzana* (block) uphill from the roundabout of Embajadores. It is a downhill walk here from the more central and less residential Lavapies or La Latina districts. Its entrance, in the evening (when it is most likely to be found open) is usually manned by a pair of members of the *centro*, often conversing with regular attendees. My first visit was prompted by an invitation from Paco, a Congolese immigrant who sold the PCE newsletter in Lavapies. After several conversations about his experience as a PCE activist, he grew tired of my political focus. 'I don't *only* do this, you know' he laughed. 'I do other things too, which you would find interesting- PCE is only on Thursdays'. He recommended that I come that Sunday to the Tabacalera to listen to his band play- a group of Sub Saharan African musicians. I would definitely find the space interesting. He gave me directions and, betraying my novice outsider status, I showed up on Sunday, on time. The first impression I had of the Tabacalera was that is was not open- I walked the length of the *manzana* up and down, past what appeared to be a main entrance but was closed by a dark wooden door. Eventually, I was joined by three other Anglophones carrying musical instruments, who assured me this was the door. Or so they had heard. They had been told to come here for a jam session. After a confused few minutes, the heavy door creaked open from the inside, where a man and woman in their fifties appeared. 'Buenas', they greeted us testily. I let the musicians explain their presence at the door. 'And so, why didn't you open the door?' shrugged the woman, stepping back inside. There had been no knocker, no light and no buzzer on the door; just a few printed sheets of paper taped to the side advertising weekly events. Though a public and communal space, the entrance to the Tabacalera depended on a degree of inside knowledge, of knowing which door is to be opened and how. Inside, the *centro* maintains the old corridors of the tobacco *fábrica,* which slope down from the central courtyard to become subterranean; at the side, one exits into another poorly lit courtyard surrounded by high walls (fig 6.1). The corridors are punctuated, every ten meters or so, by small doors, a number of which had small printouts

taped to them advertising collective activities (bicycle repair, computer literacy classes and musical gatherings were the most prevalent). Next to vacant rooms left open, signs reminded visitors not to engage in smoking, drinking, drug use or intimate relations on the premises, and that overnight stays were prohibited. At the time of my first visit, these corridors were deserted, the only noise the beats of two separate music groups, heavily muffled by soundproofing. The Tabacalera's most striking feature to an outsider was, however, the profusion of graffiti and mural paintings which cover the entire inside of its corridors (fig. 6.2 and 6.3). These painted walls superimpose structured figurative murals and scrawled, illegible *tags* in spray paint. The overall impression, in this municipally sanctioned space, has a clear orientation towards urban art as decoration, appropriation and contestation (Knight, 2013). Paradoxically, the grassroots nature of this hidden street art does not exist entirely outside the city's economic planning. In their 2017 paper on austerity urbanism, Davies and Blanco accurately observe that 'the urban art of insurgents is recuperated by the Madrid city government, in a bid to boost the city's global brand' (2017: 1521). In my visit to the centre, and conversations about it with local actors, dual readings of this space occurred. Paco, who first invited me, appreciated the Tabacalera for being 'a good open space, where you can meet whomever you want, you can play your music without neighbours complaining, they don't mind too much if you smoke pot- there's a good variety of people and it feels open in a way the street doesn't'. As an immigrant, he found the space to be inclusive; although he primarily socialised with a group of francophone men of African origin there. An opposite view came from Sonia, the 34 year old blogger and amateur social historian from Madrid. 'I never go to the Tabacalera', she said as we walked around the neighbourhood. 'There's a much better cultural centre in Palos de la Frontera. I don't just mean that it's insalubrious- though it is. Have you been there at night? I wouldn't anymore! No, really it has a bad image- and that is done on purpose. As soon as you have a *centro* like that that is operating outside of the commercial, consumer system, it's better for the *ayuntamiento* if it looks devious and has a bad reputation'. A rumour had indeed been circulating, some months before, that the Tabacalera had been put under police monitoring after they found it being used for dog fighting. I asked Sonia if she had heard it. 'No, but it doesn't surprise me at all. I mean, maybe there weren't dog fights there- I don't know if it would go that far. But obviously

there's a lot of marijuana use there, and the bathrooms... It just makes this image that anything that isn't run and regulated by the municipal powers, immediately becomes this dirty, illegal place. They could easily close it down for ten different reasons but I think it's more useful to them open'. Sonia's insights rejoin the concerns of a number of activists in the Lavapies circle, who did not maintain links to the centre or feel represented by it. In its aesthetic and the practices it hosts, the centre and its municipal endorsement smacked, for local actors, of a voluntary amalgamation of alternative economic practices with anti-social, illegal, and unsafe behaviour.

Opaque ownership, visible dispossession: property and home in crisis

Ana, in her fifties, is an online administrator for a number of Facebook pages concerned with social injustice in Madrid. By her own admission, these pages have ebbed and flowed since the crisis. When we meet to discuss her work with the PAH (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca, the platform for victims of mortgages), she needs me to clarify how exactly I found her online. I show her the PAH Facebook group on my phone. 'I forgot about that one! That one doesn't get much activity anymore. Now, we mostly work from this page- see, it has Madrid in the title now. It's the same thing but, you know, these pages grow to include too much, it becomes a hodgepodge and then we have to move to a new platform- because of what we are doing. It gained a lot of visibility, with Colau [mayor of Barcelona and PAH activist], but people forget quickly'. What people are forgetting, according to Ana, is the ongoing number of evictions which take place daily in the city. 'Last year [2016], I think we were at 18 a day! Of course, not all of these are families, they group all the numbers together. But I can tell you, from what I know in the association, that every day there are families. The bad mortgages, and the social housing rents, are the problem. Families are in contracts with banks which they don't understand and they have little education, no resources to fight it. Last week, a woman was evicted with her husband because of 'unpaid' social housing rent- she had been paying, I don't know, 300 euros a month and she kept all her receipts. But the second year of her lease, the rent had gone up to over 400 euros! She was illiterate, she couldn't read the contract-

so they were kind, they gave her ten days to get her stuff out. We weren't able to stop it even though we held a protest there'. The social media pages for the PAH advertise such protests weekly- inviting members of the association to meet outside the address of a projected eviction to block bailiffs, city officials and the police. 'Often, we end up just giving *apoyo* (support) to the evicted family', Ana deplores.

The legal sinews of Madrid property law go beyond the scope of this thesis- however, the language used in this particular interview reveals the semantics of opacity, misunderstanding and trickery which are articulated in resistant circles. Ana's retelling of the eviction oppose the language of contracts and percentages with that of illiteracy. Other participants in the PAH online page deplore the conditions of the evictions, one of them specifying that 'Sandra was in the shower one morning when they began banging at her door- she got dressed as fast as she could and, seconds after opening the door, found officials walking into her living room and pointing at her sofas, her TV- barking 'get all of this out!', to a woman still wet from the shower'. These discourses place a second layer upon the powerful-powerless dichotomy at play in the *desahucio*- they add a narrative substance by which the intimate of the home is confronted to the impersonal, the bank, the debt. Intimate acts of showering and the privacy of furnishings are juxtaposed to impersonal forms and uniforms. Ana said later in the interview, 'our calls to protest always look the same- we give the address, the date and time, but also we name all the people living in the home by first name. We have to give these people visibility, and identity, so they aren't just numbers in a banking log. When they are just numbers, they don't have honour or family intimacy- but we name them, we give them back the quality of people'. The inversion of the 'cultural intimacy of the home' (Souvatzi, 2012) through violent bureaucratic practice creates dissonant readings of intimate space (Miller, 2008). The walls, windows and balconies of the city are no longer barriers to the public space, but become permeable to the structural violence of economic crisis. In experiences of hardship and eviction, the urban landscape is no longer divided between an intimate 'inside' and the public outside, as the latter irrupts into the former, interrupting the very time and space of 'honour and family intimacy'.

The *desahucios* which the PAH are concerned with are brought about by either rental or mortgage payment failures, construed by a banking system often illegible (sometimes literally) to its customers. They constitute an extreme manifestation of crisis and housing. The inaccessibility of *homes*, however, permeates beyond the extremely vulnerable evicted person to become a central reading of crisis for many Madrileños. As relocation to, or continued living in, the parental home (Tsapras, 2018) continues to affect vast numbers of young professionals faced with rising rents, the dichotomy between home and hostility is re-written as subtext of economic practice.

In ongoing experience of financial crisis, the landscape holds both opaque and visible ties to ownership and exclusion. More than just the scene of protests and evictions, which openly address the political nature of space, landscape becomes a non-human agent with a key role in shaping resistant and indignant subjectivities.

In the final part of this chapter, I will now address the assemblage of the landscape into collective imaginations (de Nardi, 2015), as readings of traumatic past in the earth and walls of Madrid allow actors to interpret subordination across temporal frameworks.

4. Death in the cemetery: pluritemporal landscapes of crisis and victimhood.

Annual commemorations of civil war and Francoist executions serve as an ethnographic prism, in this final section, to consider connections between landscape, victimhood and time. Questions of opaque burials and disappearances from the civil war and the following years of oppression have taken centre stage in the historic anthropology of Spain as conducted by Spanish anthropologists. Leizaola (2007) notes that, following the

political fluctuations around the funding of memory recovery since 2007 (date of the Ley de Memoria Historica put forward by PSOE's Zapatero, and later de-funded by the PP, as members of the CIF discuss in the data of this chapter), much of the excavations and their analysis has fallen to independent associations which occupy an administrative vacuum around the *fosas.* Beyond the forensic approach triggered by these uncoverings, social science in Spain has been called upon to untangle the generational and socio-historic material uncovered in the graves. These include considerations of the generational particularity of Spain's memory-project, as relations between grandchildren (such as those activists of the CIF and participants in the Tapia) and their opaque inheritance play out, one generation removed from lived memory. The data considered in this section was gathered during a two-day event held in the Cementerio de la Almudena, also called 'necrópolis del este', in April of 2017. Organised by activist collectives concerned more directly with historical memory than with austerity, the strata and scene of the cemetery provide a new lens through which to consider the temporalities of victimhood. I rejoin the work of Knight (2015) and Knight and Stewart (2016) on temporalities of crisis, and propose that spaces of contested memory can be considered as formative in contemporary European protest. As the ethnography of the 2017 *Tapia Este* commemorations- and their planning- indicates, matters of contested memory create bridges between different types of trauma and different movements of activism. Those taking part at the local level- the participants seen in this final section- are themselves bridges between austerity-driven and memory-driven activism, as they take part in and make sense of both narratives together. To consider protest to contemporary economic crisis in isolation from the complex historical readings brought up in the landscape of the urban cemetery is to take Ockham's razor to the question of resistance. Ethnographic data gathered in Madrid indicates that the parsimonious explanations of neoliberal crisis are insufficient to represent the complex readings of violence and exclusion with which local narratives of resistance are articulated. The texture, and architecture, of the Cementerio de la Almudena, provides an ethnographic node wherein these narratives shape and are shaped by the urban landscape.

Introductory remarks: approaching the Almudena

Located east of the inner ring-road (the M30), alongside the vast residential neighbourhood of Ciudad Lineal, Madrid's (indeed, Spain's) largest cemetery is of such a scale that it forces passers by to reconsider urban traffic and activity. It is flanked by three major roads, one of which divides the 'civil' from the 'catholic' sections of the *necrópolis.* A driver or bus rider might get the impression that he has travelled out of any urban activity, glimpsing only the higher graves behind brick walls for a distance of 1.5 kilometers along Avenida de Daroca. Once inside the cemetery's vast triangular shape, many choose to drive to their grave or destination of choice; a number of the Almudena's pathways are in fact paved and prepared for the passage of cars. The visitors who write online reviews of the touristic merits of the cemetery often note that pedestrian visits are difficult, and that one should come armed with a map and a vehicle if one is to see the famous graves dotted about.

I had myself experienced some discouragement in early visits to the cemetery. Living reasonably nearby, I had taken to including the perimeter of the *necrópolis* in weekly runs and walks during my first weeks of fieldwork. A housemate recommended visiting a plaque along the outer wall, commemorating 'las Trece Rosas', the thirteen roses, famous victims of Francoist repression (a new film about the events had recently been shown on television). Despite tracing the outer limits carefully (or so I assumed), both inside and out, I got lost twice and never found the plaque. I also never saw in intendant inside the cemetery, who might point to its whereabouts.[14] I eventually gave up, moved to a more central *barrio* and pursued my fieldwork on Podemos, 15M and the crisis. Just under two years later, I was brought back to the Almudena cemetery by the rhizomatic connections of that fieldwork- to find not only the Trece Rosas memorial, but new readings of the modest grid of graves in the necropolis's eastern point.

[14] In 2018, the Ayuntamiento de Madrid offered guided tours of the cemetery's monuments, famous graves and architectural points of interest. Sixty-four tours were programmed for free between March and June of 2018.

In a cyberethnographic exercise in 'snowball sampling', I contacted Fuen, the administrator of a Facebook page entitled 'Contra la Impunidad del Franquismo' ('Against the impunity of Francoism'). Her page was recommended to me by Iñigo, whom I had approached in the bookshop where he worked south of Puerta del Sol- the shop usually displayed a selection of ideological and political publications of the Left in its window, including volumes by Pablo Iglesias. As we discussed the political section of the bookshop and its clientele, Iñigo led me to well-stocked shelves beside the door. 'This sells more than the pure politics', he said as he gestured to his contemporary Spanish history section. 'There are books out now, every month it feels like, new books on the Civil War but not just that, all of Spain in the past fifty years- there's a lot of interest in that now. I'd say it's a bit broader, too, the interest. It motivates people more than reading *politica dura* [hard/solid politics]'. He recommended I read the reviews of these new books that were often shared on Facebook- snowball sampling from the physical to the online field.

Fuen, the administrator of the *Contra la Impunidad del Franquismo* (hereafter 'CIF') social media page, worked part-time in administration at a high school. During our first interview, she quickly said, 'I don't think I'm the kind of activist you are looking for! What we do- well, I do, it's mostly me at the Facebook page, it isn't political like Podemos or Ahora Madrid. Our only objective is to honour the victims'. Fuen's page is a rigorously curated collection of publications, updated daily, which compiles material on the victims of the Spanish Civil War (or the *Golpe*, 'coup', as she referred to it) and of the ensuing regime. 'The people we did it for at first were people like us, *familiares* (relatives) who often hadn't had any information on their lost ones for decades. We wanted to publish people's stories, and name the *desaparecidos* (disappeared), and it grew from there. Now I have messages every day- from people offering their family histories or people sending photos they have found, of grandparents... Once someone sent me a message from near Guadalajara, about this old lady in the village that they remembered who looked for her husband- looking everywhere for his body- right up until she died. She knew it had been buried nearby but she never found anyone to say where. This is the kind of story we lose every day in this country.'

Further interviews with Fuen would emphasise the practicalities of the CIF over the stories and families it worked for. Conducted in January and February of 2017, the conversations focused on the organisation of an upcoming commemorative weekend in early April. It is through this event, and the surrounding organisational meetings, that the Cementario de la Almudena comes to light as a site of contentious history through architecture.

El Homenaje (the Hommage): politicised readings of the sepulture and of its absence in an associative commemoration in 2017

I first came to hear of Fuen, and her associates', activities within the Cementario de la Almudena through oblique references to 'la Tapia'. This refers to a wall- in this case, the wall delimiting the easternmost point of the cemetery from the residential neighbourhood of La Elipa. When I asked Fuen why she referred to the wall, rather than to the cemetery itself, she replied that 'of course it means inside the cemetery- but, that place is so vast, places within it need their own names too. People in our circles, they will know of the Tapia Este because that is where the monument to the Trece Rosas is, on the inside of that wall. Also, the wall carries historic value, because we think- we are never sure, of course- that people after Franco's victory would have been shot just outside that wall. Not in the cemetery- they were moved there in trucks. But they were executed somewhere just outside there'. The *tapia*, then, besides being a more precise geographical reference within a vast space, also acted upon collective imaginaries informed by a drive for historical accuracy.

The historic events which are commemorated in the yearly *Homenaje* are the object of collective research, much of which is carried out by independent historians reliant on associations such as CIF to gather testimonials which fill in the gaps in archives. Marisa, a poet involved in CIF, saw a voluntaristic opacity in the archival system against which

she herself has come up. 'They didn't *burn* the archives- they kept some archives of the years after the civil war of course. But they aren't designed for people to find- the archive for, say, my great-aunt imprisoned in Malaga? That will be in Segovia. And the details of relatives of people killed in Madrid, or Avila? Maybe in Valencia... On top of poor records, there's this incoherent spread of them. Of course this is designed to make it very hard for people to find out exactly what happened to their relatives, so they could not make a formal complaint, in the years after Franco's death even'. She went on to say that this was why the *Homenaje* still added new names each year, as the research was carried out without national or municipal impetus, leaving organisations such as the CIF with a central role in the research and dissemination of knowledge about Francoist post-war executions.[15]

The *Homenaje* of 2017 was a two-part event held over two days on the 31st of March and 1st of April. Fuen, from my first contact with her association, had insisted that this would be a key moment for 'my writings'. 'I've worked before with research students, mostly Spanish', she said, 'who want to work on this, your topic. I wish all of them could come to the Homenaje, it has the most *sentido* [sense, meaning] of anything I can show you'. This participant, like others encountered in the circles of edifier-activists (producers and curators of content, see chapter 4), offered to orient our conversations and activities to suit what they assumed my 'writings' to be. I met two of Fuen's other student interlocutors at the Tapia, both of them undergraduates, whose projects Fuen assessed as 'the same as mine- about memory'- despite my insistence that my research was on contemporary resistance.

The event itself was planned over the course of physical meetings between CIF members and members of the association 'Memoria y Libertad'. These lasted up to two hours, covering logistical issues of seating and printing, and organising speakers and interveners.

[15] In 2018, a team of historians led by Hernandez Hodalgo was commissioned by the Ayuntamiento de Madrid to carry out a research project entitled 'List of persons executed during the post-war (1939-1944) in the city of Madrid'. Led by academics from the Complutense University, the project shows the ongoing political relevance of matters of victimhood and burial under Manuela Carmena's mayorship.

Fausto, an aquaintance of Fuen in his seventies or eighties, took me aside as another member discussed online outreach (to which he had openly thrown up his hands in mock bewilderment). 'I don't do this networking and posting pictures... You do, you're young. Is that what you're studying? What *are* you studying here, actually?'. I responded that I had been invited to see how the group went about organising an event, what the role the cemetery played in it, and how it related to families now. '*Ay, ahi, hay mucho que sacar',* he responded, and turned back to the meeting. His comment translates as 'oh, there/on that subject, there is plenty to take out/dig up'. This rhetoric of *sacar* was common usage amongst participants of the CIF, convergently meaning to bring to light, to bring out of the ground or to take out. It was used, as in the primary reading of Fausto's comment, in reference to information and accountability kept hidden in the records of Francoist repression and their treatment since the transition to democracy. The polysemy of *sacar* resonated also with efforts at truth and commemoration, encouraged by Zapatero's *Ley de Memoria Historica* (Law of Historic Memory) of 2007, which in Spain have taken the shape of digs and uncovering of mass graves across the countryside. Though contested and left unfunded by successive PP administrations, the 2007 foray into institutional memorial research has opened up local questions of trauma and community through the forensic lens (Renshaw, 2016). The ground itself, and the wall, in the case of the Tapia, are re-investigated as repositories of binding collective narratives of repression; the landscape 'recharging commonality by referencing the physical spaces of [shared] identity' (Halbwachs, 1950 in Crinson, 2005: xi). The semantics of *sacar* point to the anecdotal, subaltern history overlooked or opaqued in archives, but which loads the *tapia* with memory that is personal (anecdotal) rather than archival, and as such associated with mass media and amnesia (ibid).

The public Homenaje was held at noon on the second day of the event and lasted for an hour and forty minutes. By the entrance of the cemetery on Puerta de O'Donnell, two women sat at a trestle table giving away free flyers, selling badges and bracelets with the Republican flag, and CDs of the artists playing at the event. A crowd of seventy people was scattered between the door and the Tapia, most in groups of threes and fours, some smoking. Fuen, Marisa and other members of the CIF were busy greeting visitors and

putting up pictures and red carnations with string and sellotape on the wall of the Tapia. Marisa greeted me with a hug and rushed about introducing visitors to one another, most of whom she seemed to know personally. Forty chairs had been set out under a canopy, and other attendees gathered standing or sitting on gravestones around the small stage.[16] For this eleventh edition of the event, the crowd numbered seventy-five people in total. Under the canopy were older members of CIF and Memoria y Libertad, alongside relatives and campaigners for the recovery of memory- some of whom were acknowledged by name by the intervenors. Poetry readings, guitar and song recitals, and speeches from politicians occurred, punctuated by applause and moments of collective silence. Introducing the second song played in the ceremony, the musician dedicated it to 'those who would be us today, if they weren't underneath us'. A moment of silence was observed for a member of the association, deceased in the past year. The performances ended with a rendition of 'Canto a la Libertad' in which the audience participated.

As the crowd moved away from the stage, people formed clusters around the wall of the Tapia, on which the names and photographs of the victims of executions carried out there between 1939 and 1944 are hanging, each on a backdrop of Republican red, yellow and purple (fig. 6.4). For some names, a black outline is included where a photograph was unobtainable. Fewer than 300 portraits are hanging, representing the estimated 2,934 persons executed there in the five years following the Civil War[17]. 'It's important to show the faces', I overheard one attendee comment. By juxtaposing the images (or violent, black outlined lack thereof) onto the functioning urban feature of the Tapia wall, CIF and Memoria y Libertad bridge biographical and autobiographical memory with wider processes of genealogical recognition (Hamilakis and Labanyi, 2008).

The location for the Homenaje draws participants' attention to material culture (the wall, the cemetery) 'transformed by warfare [and violence], which becomes integrated into social and conceptual worlds' (Moshenska, 2008). The urban site is shaped by the tasks it

[16] Photographic data of this event has sadly been lost with the theft of my mobile phone shortly after the Homenaje. Photos included in the appendix are sourced from social media coverage of the event with the permission of participants and are credited to their sources.
[17] ABC Espana, 25/04/2018: 'El memorial de la Almudena sera anonimo'.

hosts (Ingold, 1993): burials, executions, commemorations and social gathering and activism. Its re-utilisation in the Homenaje both relies on and reshapes the cultural capital of the Tapia. Fausto, in an early planning meeting, had complained to the group: 'yes, singers, let's have singers- but don't turn this into another music festival! [laughs]. The focus has to be on what's under our feet'. Expectations regarding the meaning and activist use of the urban landscape compete, but are bound by the connectivity between current activism and past repression that the site itself provides.

5. Concluding remarks: politicised landscapes and their impact on contemporary resistance.

In weaving together local readings of spaces of consumption, of exclusion and of collective memory, this chapter has etched out an analysis of how local meaning shapes the urban landscape. The city, as a backdrop, is rich with signifiers which actors interpret as they go about resistant activity. The closed down and graffitied 'site of great conspiracies and birthplace of Podemos', the municipally endorsed marginality of the Tabacalera, or the consumer imperatives of the commercial city centre, are all read continuously by my participant sample. When prompted to analyse the landscape around them, these participants identify the themes of exclusion and inequality (both economic and political) as being woven into the fabric of the streets they move through and the locales they frequent. As reviewed in chapter 5, the 'complicity' of the urban audience comes into play in reading the non-verbal cues of the landscape. Once again, the red, yellow and purple of the Republican flag provides a visual tangent, as it bridges contemporary neo-liberal protest (chapters 4 and 5) with subaltern memory in the city's sub-strata (in the Tapia). I have not provided here an exhaustive account of the role of landscape in contemporary protest and resistance; I do nevertheless hope that the open questions raised in this final chapter contribute to a shift in the 'presentism' (Hann, in Shankland, 2012) which has shaped much of the scholarship on contemporary Spanish

protest. It has too often been treated separately from the booming field of forensic and archaeological anthropology, which binds the focus on historic resistance in terms of memory alone. By shifting reading to the 'polyphony' of resistant landscapes (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992) to the connections that actors make between historic and present day signifiers of oppression.

The Tapia Este of the Almudena holds tangible connections to the narratives of marginalised (indeed, executed) resistant actors; sites such as the Tabacalera and the Marabunta, in the centre, become new connectors of resistant meaning as they are reshaped by the city's economic impetus. In both instances, there is room for an upturning of the connection between the production of space and the reproduction of social order favoured by the anthropological canon (Giddens, 1991; Foucault, 2013). The lens provided by Ingold's taskscapes opens new perspectives on the production of the narratives around space as a grassroots resistant activity. Landscapes and their temporality act upon individual and collective understandings of repression and opportunity, which are at the heart of neo-liberal crisis and resistance.

When considering the urban landscape in terms of temporality, lived experience and collective memory, it is inevitable that one should address the questions of commemoration and national symbolism. For Pierre Nora (1989; Kattaga, 2015), the *lieu de mémoire* and the *milieu de mémoire* are at odds in these processes of landscapes. In his approach to monuments and symbolism, Nora summises that 'there are *lieux de mémoire* because there are no longer real *milieux de mémoire*'. The monument exists as a reminder in communities unable to sustain the 'communal memory' which results from generations of occupation of a particular place (Nora, 1989; Staiger, Steiner and Webber, 2009: 19). *Lieux de mémoire* are material, functional and symbolic (Kattaga, 2015: 181), while the *milieu de mémoire* denotes a common reading of the environment based on Nora's 'generations-long occupation' of it. I propose, as an opening to this chapter, that we consider the potential of crisis and renewed engagement with resistance to create new *milieux* of communal memory. Since the shift in consumption patterns and experiences of marginality brought about in 2008, and the shift in communal protest and agency in

2011, the urban landscape of Madrid has become a repository for new, grassroots meanings which do not rely on material, functional and symbolic signifiers installed by the municipal deciders. Rather, we the anthropologists can, in this urban muddle, witness the formation of a *milieu* in which the present is visually and anecdotally linked to strata of unresolved collective trauma. These connections ultimately contribute to the rise of narratives of disenchantment within resistance, as it is linked to irreversible loss and mourning.

The landscapes of resistance are topoi- both places and topics (Blok, in Hastrup, 1992); they are macro-level structures within which actors perform micro-level actions (Ocejo, 2012). Reading them through the lend of the taskscape, anthropologists of resistance can open them up from mere stages to repositories of local meaning which is continuously constructed and shared. While a number of these 'micro-actions' are driven by resistance and protest in the wake of financial crisis, the impetus to consumption- even in times of austerity- creeps back into the spaces of the city (Pipyrou, 2014). When participants in activist circles in Madrid engage with the socially unjust eviction of citizens, the economically unjust pervasion of neo-liberal forces on communities, and the historically unjust burial of victims in unmarked graves, they imbue their landscape with resistant tasks. They contribute to upending Sontag's (2003, in Kattago, 2015) theory that collective remembering, or experience, is the necessary fruit of collective instruction. The disruptions they create in top-down dynamics of amnesty and austerity denote, even on small scales, that grassroots constructions are significant in the landscapes of resistance.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

Abstract:

This chapter brings together the arguments made throughout the chapters, in a brief review of their stated aim and their location within studies of Spain, crisis and resistance. Drawing upon the ethnography discussed in the thesis, I reiterate the theoretical and methodological aims of the chapters: to approach resistance in European cities organically, and to study it across boundaries of participant groups and disciplinary directions. This conclusion draws together the findings of the previous chapters and re-examines how they indicate a retrospective and disenchanted gaze in resistance, and how this is a first step to understanding its failures to transform social fabric after unprecedented circumstances of austerity and public engagement in 2011.

1. Introductory remarks

The original impetus behind this thesis, as it was proposed for funding in 2013, was to join a drive of emerging research into the shaping of new, large scale protest movements in Southern Europe, and their local impact on social and political fabrics. Two years after the eruption of the Indignados onto Puerta del Sol, their tents, slogans and forms of participation had lead to a wealth of scholarship and renewed ethnographic engagement with the area.

The project, in its final form over five years later, has in fact been greatly shaped by the timeline that followed this moment of public (and ethnographic) effervescence. In a sense, the delays in accessing the field- caused by the expected doctoral process- have greatly shaped the outcome of this research, and its central directions and findings are indebted to them. The recession of urban resistance, from the forefront of Madrid's life and gossip to a more latent position, forces us to consider its durability, impact, attractiveness and the ways in which it resonates and mobilises- or fails to do so.

This thesis has sought to examine the impact of economic crisis on urban resistance in Madrid. It locates this thematic within wider perspectives on how resistance in the city has evolved and faded since a pivotal moment of public engagement in 2011. Throughout the chapters, the participants studied have not formed a bounded, cohesive social group, in the way perhaps the ethnography of a village, an association, a school or a minority could do. Since this thesis is concerned with economic contexts and discourses, there underlies the assumption that the participant base may share some economic stature or position, and be definable in Marxist terms. Neoliberalism, as a political and economical system, does not however follow Marxist logics equating wealth with means of production; its texts are a pervasive drive to individual responsibility, as I have discussed in chapter 3. The crisis brought about by the 2008 recession has reshuffled 'class' belonging, rendering previously 'middle class' actors vulnerable and precarious in contexts of austerity. The participant base for this thesis cannot therefore be bound by a strictly common economic experience, since the voices heard throughout this thesis differ greatly in background, educational and material capital. At the risk of sounded irretrievably loose, the commonality of the participant sample for this research is their presence in Madrid at a particular temporal moment, their ability to process and re-use the texts of resistance available to them, and their levels of engagement with protest and discontent within the city. The looseness of this sample has been addressed methodologically throughout the chapters, each one defending its approach to an unbounded collection of voices. In this short conclusion, I hope to recapitulate the value of unbound ethnographic approaches to urban resistance. I will, in a first step, locate the completed research in the field and identify its contributions. These are organised both

methodologically and theoretically, with particular focus on the 'complicit audience' and the ethnography of shared, incomplete knowledge in resistance. I then go on to provide an overview of evolutions in the field of Spanish ethnography since fieldwork ended in 2017, drawing out how arising societal issues can also be informed by the study of underlying societal fracture as put forward by this thesis. Finally, I conclude by reviewing the value of studying resistance as an aesthetic category, and explore the dimensions of disenchantment that it carries in my field.

Contributions to the field

As discussed in the above paragraphs, the participant base for this study does not follow strict formats of investigating one activist group, centre or association. Unique narratives of participants are treated organically as they arise in the field, which leads to a cross-section of authors, witnesses, new practitioners, and former practitioners of resistance to be included in the research. The shapes of resistance in Madrid emerge from ethnographically informed analysis of the case studies, which have been selected for their relevance rather than their fitting a model of sampling. The resulting ethnography cannot claim to be in any measure exhaustive, comprehensive or objective. The fragmentary approach to drawing information out of a complex urban field does, however, allow for societal complexity to be acknowledged in Southern European contexts. This thesis is a call to cross-study the field of resistance in Southern Europe in a balanced way, drawing its theoretical perspectives from the grassroots. It acknowledged existing narratives of sovereignty, agency and patiency that have shaped the study of European crisis-scapes, and attempts to recast them in their ground-level, individual and incomplete sets of meaning. Through its engagement with theories of aesthetics, nostalgia, collective imaginaries and memory, it hopes to import from disciplines outside of anthropology to integrate the historiography and human geography necessary to voice local constructions of resistance. The engagement with demographically disparate participant bases is a necessary by-product of this aim. By engaging with the edifiers who author resistant content, and the actors who interpret narratives, their economic condition and their urban

surroundings in terms of power and subordination, this research hopes to have provided a preliminary solution to the lacuna of previous generations of Southern European ethnography. Theories of nostalgia, trauma and collective memory are central to this thesis, since they contribute to viewing 'crisis' in pluri-temporal terms and not in a presentist blindness to transgenerational trauma. This arc has been touched upon successfully in the field of Greek crisis (Knight, 2015); however, its Spanish counterpart remains marred by a lasting divide between the fields of historic and contemporary trauma and violence.

Chapter 4, in its focus on edifiers and authors of resistant content, brings about new perspectives on the fully modernised subject- those who are able to self-represent and shape the narratives of peers. Located before the chapter grappling specifically with the underlying aesthetics of resistance, it offers new cross-sectional study of the texts of resistance: these are considered not only through the perspective of the audience, but are unpacked by those who promote, author and create them. The framework of 'protest', which is a punctual moment, is surpassed so that we might consider resistance in its latency as well as its effervescence.

To summarise, this thesis contributes to Southern European ethnography, by lifting Mediterranean subjects from peripheral positions defined by outside economic sovereignty and returning them to their full complexity. It contributes to the study of resistance by considering not only the moments of participation and activity, but by introducing the aesthetic of resistance as a repository which actors can call upon to enact resistance. This allows us to consider resistance in terms of its failures as well as its moments of great mobilisation. I have used tropes of civil war trauma, economic disenchantment, and powerlessness as they are articulated in the field, to draw out new approaches to resistance as incomplete (or inchoate) in both its project and its meanings.

New directions in the field of Spanish resistance since 2017

Spain is a dynamic and mobile political stage. Regional nationalisms, government corruption and questions of amnesty and memorialisation have all grown, even in the two years since fieldwork for this project ended, suggesting that the ethnography of partisanship, memory and resistance in Spain deserves further investigation.

In the year following my departure from Madrid, word began circulating, on the pages that still made up the majority of my social media landscape, of a project to remove the body of former dictator Francisco Franco from his purpose-built mausoleum in El Escorial. I had visited the mausoleum ('Valle de los Caídos', the Valley of the Fallen') on several occasions, once to witness the commemorations held there for dictator on the anniversary of his death, November 20th 2017. I had gone on the recommendation of David, the Civil War historian conducting anglophone historic tours of the city (see chapter 4). The commemorations are addressed in chapters 2, and constituted tangible evidence of 'occult sociological Francoism' in the field (Barros, 2018). The discussions around the displacement of Franco's body are worthy of their own doctoral focus, and I cannot hope to do them justice in a post-fieldwork addendum. Tropes of 'public history' and its shortcomings (Cazorla-Sanchez and Shubert, 2018) are brought to the fore as Spanish academics, Spanish media, and international journalists grapple with the symbolic weight of the Valle, inevitably raising questions of its legitimacy, durability, and the positionality of those citizens who frequent it. The issue engages with questions of bodies and the traumatic sub-strata of language raised in chapter 6. Residents of Madrid are currently divided by the possibility of Franco's remains being relocated to the central cathedral of la Almudena, beside the Palacio Real. Álvaro, a postgraduate student at the Complutense, quipped that this would in fact be most fitting, 'so that (King) Felipe can salute him from his palace windows for everything he did for the royal family'. As the public history of Spain remains greatly un-coordinated and in the hands of civil society organisations (such as those discussed in chapter 6), questions of commemoration, burial and memorials will continue to be raised as local actors and their political representatives argue the costs, validity and symbolism of exhumations.

In terms of economics, the Spanish field remains affected by much of the social struggles that triggered mass mobilisation in 2011. I have quoted Tsampras's (2018) in chapter 3, as she provides data on the rising figures of unemployment in Spain as late as 2014, six years after the beginning of the crisis. Over the course of my fieldwork years, projects proposed by the new Ahora Madrid municipal government struggled to meet funding needs- including improvements on issues of poor public transport, and poor quality housing, in peripheral neighbourhoods. Coincidentally, these are the same neighbourhoods that continue to be affected by the *desahucios,* evictions, against which the PAH still campaign daily (see chapter 6). Evictions in 2018 in the comunidad of Madrid numbered 6,435[18]; across Spain, they represented, according to an article circulated by the PAH, 'four evictions every hour'[19]. Without entering an analysis of the sources and discourses used by participants to denounce systemic violence against rights to housing, we can conclude from these figures that the political impact of new parties (Podemos, Ciudadanos and Ahora Madrid) have not deeply impacted the economic landscape left by crisis. Neoliberalism, it seems, 'survives periods of crisis and entrenches positions of austerity' (Worth, 2018), proving that 'oppositional groups have lacked a form capable of challenging austerity'. As 'crisis' appears to recede from national consciousness, the lasting effects of pervasive neoliberalism on vulnerable populations suggests that local resistance must re-form in order to effectively gather strength against transnational economic forces.

In 2017 and 2018, a new chapter in Catalunya's regionalism and independence project took centre stage in Spain. Regionalism, while not present in emic Madrileño discourses, is another field in which an organic approach to local grassroots discourses can advance anthropological knowledge. The events in Catalunya in the past two years show that the region and its people engage with sovereignty and agency in entirely different structures than those seen in Madrid; nevertheless, questions of socio-history (of the resistance of Catalunya to central government and its lasting resistance to Franco's putsch in 1936) and

[18] 'Los 80% de desahucios fue por impago del alquiler en 2018', *El País,* March 1st 2019.
[19] 'Cuatro desahucios por hora: la otra cara de la hipoteca española', *El Confidencial*, 05/03/19.

of collective imaginaries need to be investigated amongst the diverse and disparate groups that voted for Catalonian independence. The methodologies put forth in this thesis could be exported to Barcelona, to investigate what aesthetic constructs make independence attractive, romanticised, and how its denial to those voters who chose it will shape further resistance in the city of Barcelona.

Conclusion: viewing resistance in terms of disenchantment

Berliner (2015), in an essay on the anthropology of nostalgia, questions whether the true nostalgic subject is not the anthropologist himself. If we are to consider the ethnographies of Spain since the inception of 'anthropology at home', then perhaps there is truth in this statement, which 'pathologises', in Theodossopoulos's terms, the ethnographer along with his resistant subjects. Even in the loose ethnographic methodology put forward in this thesis, there is an impetus to work *away* from structured and bound subjects. This implies an effort of some kind, or at least a lure that these bounded subjects might hold- a desire, as Kertzer (1988) put it, to 'seek out the manageable field site, where the social boundary is clear and the scale human'. The draw of the village, in earlier Spanish ethnography and not extinct from contemporary publications, has been such that even modernity itself is approached through the lens of the small-scale, rural community. There is perhaps a measure of nostalgia to the ethnographic entreprise, and I am no stranger to it, having experienced disappointment and loss of direction in my early approaches to my field site- leading me to comment, in a field note margin, that it 'did not feel like ethnography at all- it just feels like living in a city'. The desire for a human-scale field site does allow us to indulge in a nostalgic inclination for human-scale questions and problems in a global world.

I propose, as my final argument, that the draw and allure of the manageable (which other ethnographers may recognise, but perhaps not) mirrors the dynamics by which local resistant actors in Madrid are drawn to use retrospective narratives in their resistant aesthetics and discourses. By applying historic and nostalgic divides to their own experiences, are actors making sense of their field in the same way we do when we choose

the village over the city? I believe this to be the case, since, as I hope to have demonstrated, the socio-historic content utilised by resistant actors creates indexical structures (of good and bad, of victor and vanquished) into which they can read their complex subordination in times of international economic crisis.

'Nostalgia', in its definition, suggests emotive attachment to a past that is over and will not be repeated. Is it right then to use the term 'nostalgia' in relation to political resistance that hopes to transform? The nostalgia and retrospective gazes utilised by actors in Madrid differ from the mourning that is described, for instance, in former Soviet states. Since it is able to still shape expectations of social justice and to motivate activism, the retrospective gaze to victor-vanquished positions is perhaps better viewed as 'nostalgia for a future-past', for a past that did not come of age or come to completion. The presence of the past, in the collective imaginary of resistant actors, brings into existence a political context of social justice that exists only by postponing it. The alignment of resistance to contemporary economic structures on pre-existing historic fissures also allows actors to argue their position as 'right' or 'just', in romanticised terms of an unjustly defeated Left. Since the Left, the Republica, the subordinate economic subject, are set in a vanquished position by a historic moment of undemocratic violence, then alignment with their ideology and aesthetic indexically positions one against other temporal and spatial experiences of violence. When actors in Madrid choose to include aesthetics of the Second Republic in their everyday attire, or when they organise commemorations outside of cemeteries, they selectively align their readings of resistance with the Spanish Left since 1936, inscribing partisanship in a romantic retrospective gaze of struggle and defeat. 'Left-Wing nostalgia represents a form of narcissism in terms of one's own political attachments', writes Rethman (in Angé and Berliner, 2014: 202). In the case of this study, political attachments are indexed along pre-existing binaries which are read as 'right' or 'wrong' in terms of their twentieth-century historic capital.

I have spoken in this thesis of 'negative' nostalgia, a term by which I denote the formative role of disenchantment in resistant narratives. The victor-vanquished binary, perpetuated in resistance to neoliberal crisis, romanticises resistance, creating collective imaginaries

reliant on its vanquished position. This position does not render resistance in Madrid particularly permeable to compromise; its temporal tropes link it back to historic precedents of subordination. As it continues to be articulated in the 'dos Españas', the two Spains, inherited from twentieth century conflict and beyond, resistance perpetuates aesthetics that highlight its disenchantment, rather than its transformative potential in crisis.

Appendix: Figures

All images are from the researcher's personal photographic library unless other image credit is specified. Fig 5.5 features a participant and was taken and used with his informed consent in accordance with ASA Ethics Guidelines.

fig 4.1.
Image credit: elperiodico.es

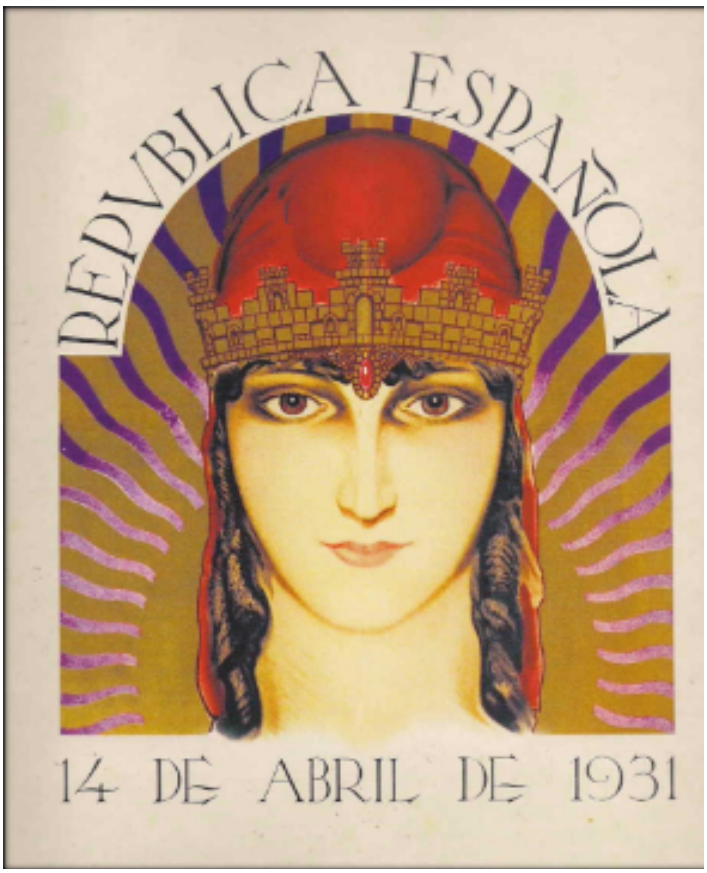

fig. 5.1

fig. 5:2


A LOS ABOGADOS DE ATOCHA

Fig 5.3


JUEZ SUPREMO
HUMORISTAS
TERRORISTAS

Fig.5.4

Fig.5.5

Fig.5.6


LIBERTAD TITIRITEROS

Fig. 5.7


ARRIVA ESPANYA
NORMA UNE-EN-671-1:2001

Fig.6.1.

Fig 6.2.

Fig.6.3.

Fig 6.4.

Image credit: participant's Facebook account.

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